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ETHNIC IDENTITY AND THE PERCEPTIONS OF INDO-CANADIAN STUDENTS IN THEIR RELATION TO CANADIAN CULTURE

By

Valerie Jacinte Spink

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

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ABSTRACT

This study, conducted with 13 second generation Indo-Canadian students, examines their cultural and social perspectives on Canadian culture. How these students answer the question of "who am I?", a question which is often faced by children of first generation immigrants who live in a society which has a distinctly opposite culture, is addressed. The relationships between the students' ethnic identity and matters of religion, gender issues, marriage, multiculturalism and educational experiences are explored. Family influences, and the part they play in the integration of the students into Canadian society are also discussed.

The study comprised two gender based focus group interviews and four one-on-one interviews. Although an interview guide was used, free flowing discussions arose throughout the interviews. After the two gender based focus groups met, themes and sub-themes were identified and a new set of questions was prepared focussing on these themes for the one-on-one interviews. The resulting data were categorized thematically and conclusions were drawn using an inductive approach to data analysis.

The results indicate that the level of integration of this group of second generation Indo-Canadian students is related to their parents' level of integration into Canadian culture. It also concluded that the majority of females in the study had higher levels of integration than the majority of males. Recommendations for further research in the areas of integration and multicultural education are made.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE 1

Introduction 1
Participants 2
Interviews 3
Data analysis 4
Terminology 5
Limitations of the study 6

CHAPTER TWO 7

Review of related literature 7
Ethnic identity 8
Ethnic identity perceptions and integration 13
Integration, assimilation, acculturation 15
Multiculturalism in Canada 19
Multicultural education 23
Multicultural education in Alberta 26
Multicultural education and minority education 27
Traditional Indian gender roles 28
Gender and second generation 30
Marriage 32
Present study 33

CHAPTER THREE 35

Interviews with participants 35
Method 35
Trustworthiness of the data 35
Participants 36
Female focus group participants 36
Male focus group participants 37
One-on-one interview participants 38
Interviews 40
Confidentiality 40
Procedure 40
Findings 41
Ethnic identity 42
Discussion 46
Family influence 49
Discussion 52
Gender differences 55

Discussion 60
Influence of religion 62
Discussion 65
Multiculturalism and multicultural educational experiences 67
Discussion 70
Marriage 73
Discussion 79
What does the future hold for the culture 80
Discussion 83

CHAPTER FOUR 85

Discussion and Summary 85
Overall conclusions 90
Recommendations for further research 90
Further research 92
Concluding remarks 93

REFERENCES 95

APPENDIX A: Cover letters to participants 103

APPENDIX B: Interview guides 110

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 - Background information on female focus group. 37

Table 2 - Background information on male focus group. 38

Table 3 - Background information on one-on-one interviews. 40

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the study was to identify the perceptions of second generation Indo-Canadian students in relationship to Canadian culture. Since all the participants had been born in Canada and had been educated through the Canadian school system, I wished to identify the level of integration that these students had achieved. Much of the research in this area had been conducted primarily through questionnaires, with some studies using interviews as well as questionnaires. Finding out what the students "actually think" required a more qualitative approach to the study. After reviewing a number of studies conducted on persons from ethnic backgrounds, it became apparent to me that focus groups with some one-on-one interviews would be the most appropriate method of pursuing the research. Traditionally, and culturally, one of the easier ways to express one's convictions, perceptions, and beliefs has been in group settings and through group interactions. This line of thinking is consistent with Morgan (1988) who states that "the hallmark of focus groups is the explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (p. 12). Since the focus group involved students from the same ethnic heritage, it was my expectation that "hearing how participants respond to each other gives insight into their natural vocabulary on a topic, but also when they are willing to challenge others and how they respond to such challenges" (Morgan, 1988, p. 18). It would give me a chance to discuss and talk with the students, and not be bound by any restrictions should the conversations veer away from the prepared interview guide.

In order to study the primary question "How do students of East Indian heritage, who are second generation Canadians, perceive themselves in relation to Canadian culture?" it was necessary to explore secondary questions relating to ethnic identity and integration. The following questions were the basis of the study:

1. What defines ethnic identity in the perceptions of Indo-Canadian students?
2. What influence does the family have in defining a person's ethnic identity?

3. Are family influences exerted differently over males and females in the Indo-Canadian community, and if so, how?

4. Do religion and other social organizations play a part in this process?

5. Did the public school experience play any part in the shaping of Indo-Canadian students' ethnic identity?

The initial research proposal I presented for an ethics review suggested 3 focus groups. The first group would consist of 10 students, five males and five females. There would then be two other focus group interviews with the males and females separately. The last stage would be one-on-one interviews with two males and two females who had not participated previously. On suggestions from the Ethics Review Committee I subsequently made a decision to drop the mixed focus group and continue the study with only the two gender based groups and the one-on-one interviews.

After this first hurdle it was necessary to find the participants for the study. Some students who had previously volunteered to participate had found that their schedules did not coincide with my altered schedule. It was almost back to square one and to finding new participants.

Participants

Being a member of the Indo-Canadian community, but having few contacts with people who had children that would meet my criteria, it was necessary to find students who were willing to volunteer for a couple of hours to participate in the interviews and some time to read the transcripts and provide feedback on same.

By contacting both the Muslim Students' Association and the Indian Students' Association on campus I was able to receive the names of individuals who might be willing to participate in the study. This in turn led to contacts with some other participants. A final method of gaining access to participants was through the Graduate Students' Association. A request which included the criteria was sent to the members and the response was overwhelming. It was unfortunate that all the students who responded were not able to participate, for reasons of time and not meeting the criteria completely. It was

also heartwarming that second generation Indo-Canadian students were willing to talk about themselves and their lives.

Since I had only superficial contact with the Indo-Canadian community and practically none with university-aged students, I was worried that the participants would be friends, or at least acquaintances. There was also the limitation that being from the same ethnic community I would experience some personal bias during the interviews and questioning. My first concerns were unwarranted as the members of the female focus group were strangers to each other and even though the two pairs of the male focus group knew each other they were not reluctant to offer their views and opinions. One other concern arose when a member of the female focus group (Aladdin) recommended her brother (Donny) to be a participant of the male focus group. Since I was in short supply of male focus group members, the addition of this participant was welcomed. I was assured by the female participant that she would not discuss the matters raised in the female focus group meeting with her brother prior to his session.

Interviews

All the participants were given consent forms to sign indicating their willingness to participate in the study. The consent form also allowed the participants to withdraw from the study at any time and guaranteed that they would not be required to answer questions they did not wish to answer. In order to protect the confidentiality of the participants in the focus groups, they were asked to chose a new name to be used during the interviews and another name to be used in the written form of the study. The participants in the one-on-one interviews also chose pseudonyms for the purposes of this document. All the interviews were audio-taped and no one other than myself has listened to the tape recordings. I transcribed the interviews and then provided the transcripts to each participant for review and validation. Some of the participants provided me with feedback on corrections and, in some areas, clarification of their ideas. All of the participants were satisfied with the transcripts and I was given permission to proceed with the analysis of the data.

Data Analysis

As explained above, I tape recorded all the interviews. From discussions with other post-graduate students who had tape recorded interviews the conventional wisdom seemed to be that it was "money well spent" to have someone else do the transcription of the tapes. However, not wanting to disburse money on transcription I transcribed all the tapes myself. Transcription of the first tapes of the female focus group proved frustrating and became an arduous job. One and a half hours of interview resulted in close to 14 hours of transcription time. This lengthy period of time was not due to my inability to transcribe but due to the sheer exuberance of the participants. Reflecting about that interview, I can say with honesty that it was a particularly enjoyable experience. I had been apprehensive as to how the interview would turn out. I later commented to one participant that I should not have been apprehensive because "when you put 6 Indo-Canadian women together there is bound to be a lot of conversation." She agreed with me. Some of the problems in transcription arose because several participants spoke at the same time or interrupted when another was speaking. As the moderator I was also guilty of interrupting and speaking while someone else spoke. The transcription of the male focus group interview was much less time consuming partly because I was more adept at guiding the questions and partly because the males were more restrained and "gentlemanly," speaking only when they were spoken to.

After the first two focus group interviews, I identified themes and sub-themes in the data and designed a new set of questions for the one-on-one interviews. The themes arose from similar views expressed in the two focus groups. It was necessary to see if the one-on-one interviews would give further validity in the form of personal experiences to the views expressed in the focus group interviews. Throughout the study, I used an inductive approach to analysing the data. This resulted in further questions and discussions arising from the groups themselves despite the use of an interview guide. The use of a deductive approach may have brought my own biases and expectations to the fore thus interfering with the participants' points of view.

The four one-on-one interviews of one male and three females also went very

smoothly. The reason for the imbalance in the gender is that one male interviewee was unable to attend the scheduled interview and was too busy to re-schedule another one. The one-on-one interviews were structured with an interview guide. One female interviewee (Fathima) was a bit reserved during the conversation but the others were quite forthcoming in their discussions. The male interviewee, who was a Ph.D student in Chemistry, wanted to be assured, as any good scientist would want to be, that I had focussed questions. I told him that I could not guarantee that but that I would try my best. The interview progressed extremely well.

Terminology

The following terms will be employed in the study:

East Indian/Indian - These terms refer to persons who have as their native country the sub-continent of India.

Indo-Canadian - This term refers to a person who is of East Indian heritage but has Canadian citizenship.

South Asian - This term refers to persons from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (In Maira & Srikanth).

First Generation - This term refers to persons who were the first members of the family to immigrate to Canada or any other country.

Second Generation - This term refers to persons born in the country to which their parents have immigrated.

Endogamy - Marriage within the ethnic culture.

Exogamy - Marriage outside the ethnic culture.

Acculturation - Acculturation is a process that occurs when people from two or more cultures come into contact, with the minority culture absorbing some or all of the culture, traditions, language, values and beliefs of the majority culture. Acculturation can occur to varying degrees including assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization.

Assimilation - Assimilation is defined as when the "desire for cultural maintenance

is low, combined with a preference for contact with others" (Kalin & Berry, 1994, p. 301).

Integration - This term indicates a process wherein an immigrant feels he or she has equal access to and wishes to participate in the social, political and cultural institutions of the host culture.

Separation - Separation is defined as the opposite of assimilation, "when the opposite pattern is present (high cultural and identity maintenance and low contact with other groups)" (Kalin & Berry, 1994, p.301).

Marginalization - Marginalization is the process "when there is minimal interest or possibility of either (low cultural maintenance and other group contact)" (Kalin & Berry, 1994, p. 301).

Ethnic Identity - Ethnic identity can be defined as a "sense of belonging to an ethnic group, along with the attitudes, feelings, and cognitions that accompany that sense of group membership...included in ethnic identity are actual behaviours and traditions associated with group membership" (Phinney, 1998, p.3.).

Limitations of the Study

There were several limitations to the study. One limitation was that the participants were from a single postsecondary institution in a medium sized city and therefore do not represent second generation Indo-Canadians in other social contexts or other postsecondary institutions.

Another limitation was the time constraint imposed by the participants. The study would have been richer if there had been a larger sample and a longer period of time to spend discussing issues that arose out of the discussions

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

According to the 1995 census, the number of people indicating their place of birth as India and living in Alberta was 18,972. In 1999, it is impossible to obtain an accurate figure of how many persons from India, either first or second generation, reside in Alberta. However, the numbers must be significant as the Indian community has established many businesses, community organizations, and places of worship for people who belong to the Hindu and Muslim religions, two of the largest religions in India.

In order to explore the question of the ethnic identity in second generation Indo-Canadians, related issues such as cultural perceptions, gender issues, marriage, educational experiences, and integration will be examined. In researching this question it has become apparent that many relevant studies have taken place in the United States (Das Gupta, 1997; Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1996b) and Great Britain. In the United States much of the research has been conducted with Hispanics, Blacks, and South East Asians (Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians etc.) although there is a new group of researchers of South Asian heritage (e.g. Maira & Srikanth; Das Gupta; DasGupta & Dasgupta) focussing on how persons of South Asian heritage conduct their lives in the United States. In Great Britain some work has been done on the South Asian and Black communities (Ghuman, 1991; Ghuman, 1997) as these are the largest ethnic groups in the country. There is a significant dearth of information with respect to second generation South Asian persons in Canada although some research has been conducted in major urban centres such as Vancouver, and Toronto.

The process of defining ethnic identity and the decision to integrate or remain unintegrated involves several factors. This review will focus on some of the more traditional but nonetheless important variables that are involved in the process. The literature on integration emphasizes aspects of social identity and perceptions of minorities. However, it may well be the case that factors such as immigrants' racial attitudes towards the host culture and other races, family education, family influence,

religion and language abilities, all components of a person's ethnic identity, need to be examined separately in order to get a "true" picture of the integration process. In this review I have looked at some of the research in these areas.

Ethnic Identity

The term *ethnic* has its origins in the Greek *ethnos* which means "a number of people living together, a company, a body of people" (Montagu, 1997, p. 186). In order to get a sense of what the thinking is on ethnic identity today, it is important to examine the early writings on the subject. In a discussion on turn of the century social theorists, Driedger (1996) introduces the theories of Weber, Durkheim and Marx as being important contributions to the thinking on ethnicity and ethnic identity. Weber considered ethnic identity to be a combination of race, culture, tribe, nationality and religion. He provides a definition of "ethnic groups" similar to that of Montagu (1997). He states:

> We shall call "ethnic groups" those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit)* differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter. (Weber, 1978, p. 389 in Driedger, 1996, p. 7)

Driedger contends that Weber thought of ethnic groups as a "cultural *gemeinschaft*, a shared culture" (Driedger, 1996, p. 7) and when groups shared memories of experiences they felt a strong sense of ethnic identity which included "persistent ties with the old cult, or the strengthening of kinship and other groups, both in the old and the new community" (Weber, 1978, p. 390 in Driedger, 1996, p. 7). Social theorists like Marx and Durkheim also wrote about social groups and community life. Marx was concerned that industrialization and its offshoots of materialism and stratification would affect community and social relations which would in turn put some stress on the preservation of ethnic identification. Emile Durkheim explored the increased emphasis on individualism and the resulting breakdown on community values. As opposed to Marx, Durkheim believed that

religion played a large role in the ethnic identity of social groups. It was, according to Driedger "a consecration of community, a respect for society" (Driedger, 1996, p. 16). These social theorists were at the forefront of the thinking on ethnic identity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Later, sociologists such as Park, Thomas and Redfield focussed on race relations and assimilation and immigrant pluralism (Driedger, 1996). More recently, sociologists are focussing on the many other constructs that make up a person's ethnic identity (Phinney, 1996a; Hutnik, 1986; Rotheram-Borus & Lightfoot, 1998).

The issue of ethnic identity continues to be the subject of extensive studies by social scientists, anthropologists, psychologists, and educators. Definitions for ethnic identity include concepts of acculturation, social identity, diversity, prejudice and self-concept. There is not a single, agreed upon definition of ethnic identity. Often, the terms *ethnicity*, *race*, and *ethnic group* are used interchangeably. At times these terms are used in the literature without prior definition of them. The literature also uses terms such as *Anglo-conformity, cultural pluralism* and *melting pot*. These terms refer to the different perspectives of social scientists in their writings on ethnic minorities' stages of adaptation and integration. Despite the varying terminology and perspectives, nearly all definitions suggest that ethnic identity includes a sense of belonging to a group whose members have similar ethnic origins, language, culture, beliefs and traditions. That group, for simplicity of purpose can be considered an ethnic group. One of the more definitive explanations in North America for the ethnic identity question was given by Gordon (1964) who defined an ethnic group as a group of people "with a shared feeling of peoplehood" (p. 24). He refers to an ethnic group as any "group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories"(p. 27). The establishment of an ethnic group as an avenue to foster and promote the members' own identity is inevitable. If the persons who identify with this group share a common culture which manifests itself by way of language, foods, music, and religion, and a common sense of the group's history, traditions, values and beliefs, then they are identifying with the group in what could be called a shared "ethnic identity." Ethnic identity has been defined by Driedger

(1989) "as a positive personal attitude and attachment to a group with whom the individual believes he [*sic*] has a common ancestry based on shared characteristics and shared sociocultural experiences" (p. 162). This is in keeping with Phinney's definition of ethnic identity which she suggests is "the sense of belonging to an ethnic group, along with the attitudes, feelings, and cognitions that accompany that sense of group membership. The actual behaviors and traditions associated with group membership (e.g., foods, language, music, holidays) have often been included as part of one's ethnic identity" (Phinney, 1998, p. 3). If we are to then connect cultural group membership with an ethnic group, it is useful to consider Parsons' (1975) definition: "This is a group the members of which have, both with respect to their own sentiments and those of non-members, a distinctive identity which is rooted in some kind of a distinctive sense of its history....For the members it characterizes what the individual *is* rather than what he [*sic*] *does*" (p. 56). Today, the term *ethnic* is also linked to persons who come from the same geographic region and who may have similar physical traits but more often have similarities in religion, language, food, cultural values, and cultural traditions. Along with the formation of an "ethnic group" these persons will also form a common cultural identity.

In order to understand ethnic identity, it is necessary to study the components, that is, what makes up a person's ethnic identity. Phinney (1990) suggests that a person often uses an ethnic label for self-identification. Part of this defining of self, encourages questions such as "who am I?" If a person is to find a suitable answer to this question then the matter of self-concept needs to be considered. In a review of the literature Phinney (1990) considered "self-identification," "self-definition," or "self-labelling," to be a major component of ethnic identity, although it was her finding that many researchers do not specifically assess these concepts. Gurung (1998, under review) is of the opinion that although self-concept provides "our sense of who we are" (p. 1), it is important to remember that self-labelling can be different for persons from different ethnic backgrounds. For example: persons from an Asian background or from a European background can both list themselves as American. However, they may not share the same

reasons for identification to the larger American group. Very often ethnic group members are willing to choose more than one label for themselves. This choice of label could depend on their age, their place of birth, their country of origin, their relationship with the host culture, their parentage, their religion, their education, a political choice or situation, their own distinguishing features (colour of skin or other physical characteristics). It could also depend on the type of question that is posed to them, and on who is posing the question. Wallman (1981) has suggested that if a person of minority ethnic identity or mixed ethnic identity chooses more than one identity option it could be a healthy choice.

> It is not difficult to imagine that a child, say, born in England of one (White) Scottish and one (black) Jamaican parent now living in South London could, when asked 'What are you?' define himself as English, Black English, West Indian, Scots, a Londoner or a South Londoner in turn depending on who asked him the question, why they asked it and what else was happening at the time. Equally, it is not hard to imagine the same child 'claiming' all those identities, not because he lacks a single identity focus and is (therefore) 'in crisis' but because multiple identity is itself a healthy choice. (in Hutnik, 1986, p. 151)

The distinctions found between Blacks and African Americans (Larkey, Hecht, & Martin, 1993 in Phinney, 1996b) or persons of Mexican descent who may call themselves Mexican, Chicano, Latino, Hispanic, or Mexican American (Buriel, 1987 in Phinney, 1996b) are worth noting. In a study on Hispanic identity formation in the second generation, Portes and MacLeod (1996) concluded that without their consent, the pan-ethnic label Hispanic was applied to groups of people from different racial, ethnic and class backgrounds. This pan-ethnic label can be considered "American-made" (p. 525) and there is the possibility that some second generation children under the Hispanic label may resist this type of labelling and prefer to call themselves either American or the designation for people from their parents' country of origin.

In Canada, questions asked by the Canadian census provide ethnic demographers with important information about the ethnic makeup of the country. In their study Berry and Laponce (1994) suggest that the census refine and differentiate between the categories

that relate to ethnic origin and ethnic identity. The present categories do not give the participant nor the analyst enough information to make a decision on ethnic identity. In a survey conducted in 1991 asking individuals to define their ethnic identity, Kalin and Berry's (1995) results showed that the majority of Canadians "outside Quebec, and including those of British and Other Ethnic origin, identify as "Canadian." They also found that "Ethnic" (e.g., Italian) identity is the "least frequent choice in all regions except Ontario, and among those of Other Ethnic origin, where it is second after "Canadian." The category of "Other Ethnic-Canadian" meant that individuals "selected a hyphenated identity in terms of their first or second origin, and that origin was other than French or British" (p. 6). They concluded that "maintaining a heritage identity is compatible with having at the same time a strong "Canadian" identity and attachment to Canada" (p. 1).

The issue of ethnic identity is of primary importance when discussing first and second generation persons. Quite often this identity remains strong in both generations and group members retain many ethnic components such as language, cuisine, religion, dress, traditions, marital and family structures of the original group. However, there is also indication that the second generation is willing to adopt only some specific ethnic traditions of their parents. When ethnic identity is weak or nonexistent, group members will acquire identities similar to the dominant cultural group and either retain few or partial components of their old identities or discard them completely.

In this study of Indo-Canadian, second generation university students, the attitudes of the participants towards their own ethnic group and to other groups will be explored. Phinney (1997), in her study on intergroup attitudes among ethnic minority adolescents, found that adolescents operate within in-groups and out-groups. These group affiliations are directly related to the adolescent's ethnic group and its perceived stereotyping by the larger host community. She contends that if the in-group attitudes of the adolescent are positive then there is a greater opportunity for the adolescent to be open to and accepting of other groups. Phinney concludes that adolescents who have contact with people outside their own ethnic groups, such as neighbourhood friends from other races, will have improved intergroup attitudes.

Much of the research on ethnic identity focuses on whether members of a group identify with the larger ethnic group in a purely social context to determining the effects of the dominant (host) culture on individuals' ethnic identity.

Ethnic Identity Perceptions and Integration

In that the participants of this study are all students from the same ethnic heritage, who often socialize primarily with the same ethnic community, it will be important to discover why some of them continue to impose segregation, even if it is at a low level, on themselves. Sociologists have conducted considerable research on the question of ethnic identity perceptions and integration. Kalin and Berry (1994) make a distinction between behavioural and symbolic ethnic identity. The students that exhibit "behavioural" ethnic identity will choose as their best friends persons from their ethnic group, speak only the heritage language, belong to ethnic or religious organizations of the ethnic group and practise endogamy. Driedger (1975), who conducted research in metropolitan areas of Canada, came to the conclusion that behavioural ethnic identity is stronger in some groups than others. As well, behavioural ethnic identity declined over generations according to Breton et al. (1990). This is opposed to those who practice "symbolic" ethnic identity, namely feeling "a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour" (Gans, 1979, p. 9). An example of this symbolic ethnicity is their participation in religious festivals, eating traditional cuisine, displaying ethnic artifacts in their homes and taking trips back to the home country (Alba, 1990; Gans, 1979). In his in-depth study on symbolic ethnicity, Gans is of the opinion that second generation persons -- as he found in his study on second generation Boston Italians-- find themselves, despite peer and family group pressures to conform, adopting their own cultural practices and picking and choosing their own form of ethnicity. There is some evidence that while second generation persons may lose some components of the original culture, for instance language, cuisine, dress, and music, it is third and later generations that show a return to ethnicity (Hansen, 1938, in Alba, 1990). Whether it is

only a symbolic attachment to their ethnic groups and cultures or a genuine wish to return to the ethnic culture is not entirely clear.

With regard to the issue of self-perception, Kalin and Berry (1994), in their discussion on symbolic ethnic identity, conclude that in the studies in which individuals have been asked how they think of themselves, the percentage that mention an ethnic origin is quite low. The authors believe that in Canada, where the policy of multiculturalism is in effect, "clearly for some Canadians ethnic heritage is very important, both behaviourally and symbolically. For others it is not important and they feel that being Canadian does not require an additional heritage identity" (p. 311). However, in a study coordinated by Driedger, Thacker and Currie (1982) in Edmonton and Winnipeg, respondents were asked to reply to the question: "How would you define your ethnicity?" in three categories (ethnic, Canadian, and hyphenated). This study concluded that "30% of the respondents in Winnipeg identified as Canadian, 10% gave a hyphenated response and 50% gave an ethnic response. In Edmonton 49% identified as Canadian, 8% gave a hyphenated response and 37% responded with an ethnic group only" (p. 4 in Kalin & Berry, 1995). The authors concluded that regionalism played a significant part in how persons defined themselves ethnically. Data from a previous study by Berry (1977 cited in Driedger, 1989) showed that people in the Atlantic regions of Canada considered themselves "Canadian" and those in Quebec preferred either a hyphenated label or to be called Quebecois.

Moghaddam, Taylor, Pelletier and Shepanek (1994) asked 293 junior college students from an ethnically diverse college in Montreal how they perceived themselves and how they believed they were perceived by the host culture. The outcome of the study was the finding that "majority group members differentiate between minority groups and are more accepting toward some than toward others" (p. 117). An interesting result of the study was also that some of the minority group respondents perceived themselves less as "immigrants" and "foreigners," and more as "Quebecers," than the majority group did (p. 117). This was true in the case of European Francophones but not with the Haitians, Latin Americans, Jews and South Asians. These latter groups believed that the majority

group members perceived them as "outsiders and as "belonging" less than they themselves believe they belong in Quebec" (p. 117). These perceptions encouraged members of one minority group (European Francophones) to be "over-confident" in their dealings with the majority group, while the Haitians, who were considered a "visible minority," lacked confidence because of their belief that they were perceived as "outsiders" (p. 118). In the case of both the European Francophones and the Haitians, the majority group's perceptions were different to those of the ethnic minorities. This study led the authors to conclude that misperceptions "prevent members of visible minorities from taking advantage of the available good will that actually exists in the larger society" (p. 118) and are often the cause of rifts and conflicts between the majority and minority group members and likely to make integration into the majority group a difficult process.

Integration, Assimilation, Acculturation

From the vast amount of literature available on ethnic societies and the issues of cultural integration and assimilation, it is difficult to arrive at an exact definition of these terms. More often than not authors have used the terms integration, assimilation, and acculturation interchangeably. The literature also shows that social scientists use the terms to mean different things.

The following is one of the earliest definitions for assimilation provided by Park and Burgess (1921):

> Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. (p. 735, in Gordon, 1964, p. 62)

Park (1930) later refined his definition as: "The name given to the process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence." (p. 281, in Gordon, 1964, p. 63)

This second definition focuses more on a cultural component that he later added to the assimilation equation. This focus is carried further by Gordon (1964) who contends

that there is a difference between "behavioral assimilation" and "structural assimilation." Behavioural or cultural assimilation includes the change in cultural patterns such as religious beliefs and traditions, language, marriage, and other cultural behaviours. Structural assimilation referred to the entrance of the minority group members into primary group level organizations such as political institutions, clubs, and other social institutions of the host society. Gordon (1964) defines cultural or behavioural assimilation as "acculturation." His theory of assimilation consisted of seven variables, wherein "not only is the assimilation process mainly a matter of degree, but, obviously, each of the stages or subprocesses ...may take place in varying degrees" (p. 71). These variables include total acceptance by the host society (acculturation), assimilation only on a primary group level, inter-marriage with the host society, an absence of prejudice, an absence of discrimination and an absence of value and power conflict (p. 71).

Another definition of acculturation has been provided by Berry (1987) where he has broken acculturation down into four general attitudes. The desire to maintain a low level of contact with the ethnic culture but a high identification with the dominant society is called *assimilation*. The opposite of assimilation, where the individual maintains little or no contact with the host or dominant culture and identifies solely with the traditional ethnic culture is called *separation*. If the individual is willing to identify with the ethnic culture and with the dominant culture then the attitude is defined as *integration*. The fourth attitude where a person does not show identification with either the ethnic group culture or the dominant culture is called *marginalization*.

Berry's (1987) research conducted over several studies examined the role of acculturation attitudes in the lives of native people in Australia and Canada, French Canadians, Korean, Portuguese, and Hungarian immigrants to Canada. His research concluded that individuals and groups are faced with two important issues. The first concerns "maintenance and development of one's ethnic distinctiveness in society" and the second involves "desirability of inter-ethnic contact" (p. 225) with the host society. It showed that though there was some support for separation and assimilation, the majority of the participants favoured integration and that there was little support for

marginalization. It is also interesting to note that within ethnic groups, there appear to be levels of integration, which can be loosely attributed to region of origin, religious affiliations, language abilities, and education levels of both first and second generation members and their attitudes towards the dominant culture. Integration into the host culture for second generation persons is often gradual. The degree of identification with the dominant culture plays a significant part in the integration process. The strength of this identification along with whether they choose to describe themselves with a hyphenated label is also indicative of the level of integration into the host culture. The ability to "walk both ways" (Kim, 1998) is the path that many integrated second generation persons choose to follow.

Keeping in mind the focus of the present study and the age of the participants, the influence of family and the connection to church and religious groups and ethnic cultural organizations will need to be considered. Traditionally, people from Indian families are under stringent family influences and retain strong connections to church or temple depending on the religion of the family. (Buchignani, Indra & Srivastava, 1985; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983)

In a study conducted in the United States on four second generation East Indian women, Das Gupta (1998) concluded that "the first generation in self-consciously distancing themselves from what they perceived to be 'American,' were in the process of inventing what they understood to be appropriately 'Indian'."(p. 9) This caused them to expect their children to behave in ways that they were familiar with before they left India. The parents did not realize that young people in India were now behaving in ways similar to their counterparts in America. The words of one participant comparing her life in the US with that of the author's (Das Gupta) life in India accurately describes the thinking of the first generation South Asian parents on how difficult it is to be a second generation child born in the United States who is expected to remain Indian.

> The difference between you and me is that you can do many more things in India than I can do here. My father's nephews and nieces in India do things he would still say "no" to. They wear their hair short, go out with friends, hold hands [with the opposite sex]. I see my father as a very well-

educated man but culturally I find him backward. (Das Gupta, p. 10)

Here are the words of another participant, explaining how her parents reprimanded her every time her behaviour did not come up to their expectations: "My parents continuously accused me of being too American. They did not have the slightest idea about what they had in mind when they said that!" (Das Gupta, p. 9).

These comments indicate that in many respects, for the parents, there is a "museumization" of their practices or in the words of one participant they are "frozen in time" (Das Gupta,1998, p. 10). There is corroboration for the young women's comments from an article written by Sandhu in the Peak Student Handbook (1989) for Simon Fraser University in British Columbia. The article discusses the "double lives" that second generation Indo-Canadians and women in particular are obliged to lead. It concurs with other research that first generation parents place family, culture and community before the needs of the individual. Second generation young people are often forced to grow up in two worlds, each discrete from the other. In one world they are encouraged to be independent and individualistic and in the other they are discouraged from making their own decisions and kept under total control of the parents. This total control, particularly over the women, in the words of a family crisis worker "churn[s] out young adult women who feel insecure, inferior, weak and dependent" (Sandhu, 1989, p. 1). One way that first generation parents use to control their children is by invoking the matter of family honour. Family honour is given a great deal of importance in traditional Indian culture. If children do not conform, or if they pursue activities that their parents disagree with because they are too "western," they often resort to "guilt-provoking techniques" (Sandhu, p. 5). The words of one woman mentioned in the article accurately describe the issue of honour and its importance in Indo-Canadian families "It wasn't what people thought about me that kept me in line, it was what people thought about my parents" (p. 5). Other studies conducted on first generation South Asians reach the same conclusions namely, the first generation exerts considerable influence on the lives of the second generation and forces upon them cultural behaviours that often make life untenable for them (Buchignani, Indra,

Srivastava, 1985; Ashcraft, 1986; DasGupta & Dasgupta; 1996a; Ghuman, 1997).

In his study conducted in Britain, Ghuman (1997) concluded that the participants, all second generation Britons, wished to integrate fully into British culture on some levels but also wished to maintain some bonds within the ethnic community. Their connections to family and religious groups were strong and provided them with an enormous amount of security when relations with the host culture were not successful. In another study, also conducted in Britain with second generation "British Asian" adolescents, Ghuman (1991) compared the findings from an acculturation scale he designed and tested in 1974 to the findings from his present study. He focussed primarily on adolescents and their behaviours in the school environment and the home environment. He came to the conclusion that "second generation "British Asians" adolescents (refers to South Asians only) are growing up in two distinctive cultural contexts - one of the home and the other of the school. The home represents their traditional values, beliefs and attitude orientations, whereas the school embodies the values and norms of British society" (p. 1).

For second generation children trying to straddle both the western and the South Asian culture with any degree of success, life often becomes a struggle. Because the first generation continues to try to retain as much of the native culture and inculcate in the second generation what it believes is good Indian behaviour, and since as "children of immigrants, Indian American daughters have few connections to Indian culture beyond the anachronistic images of Indianness passed down by their nostalgic parents" (Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1996b, p. 232) the process of integration becomes fraught with tension and rebellion.

Multiculturalism in Canada

Canada's official multicultural policy was devised to facilitate integration into Canadian society while preserving the ethnic heritage of immigrants. This policy had four main aims: "(I) to assist all cultural groups in their efforts to develop and to contribute to society as a whole; (ii) to help these groups overcome any cultural barriers

to mainstream participation; (iii) to promote "Creative encounters" among groups; (iv) to assist immigrants to learn at least one of the two official languages of Canada" (Edwards, 1992, p. 24). The ambitious aspirations of the policy encouraged integration within a pluralistic framework. The effectiveness of this policy is debated to this day with its proponents and opponents unable to reach a compromise. The main arguments seem to focus on whether fostering group interests over individual interests is beneficial or destructive for Canada. One of the most vocal opponents of the multiculturalism policy is author Neil Bissoondath (1994). It is his premise that hyphenated Canadianism encourages diversity and multiculturalism promotes "ghettoism" (p. 111). He contends that the continuous 'backward gazing' of multiculturalism turns "ethnic communities into museums of exoticism" (p. 111). In a subsequent article Bissoondath (1998) states that "Canadian multiculturalism has emphasized difference. In so doing, it has retarded the integration of immigrants into the Canadian mainstream while damaging Canada's national sense of self" (p. 23). Similar thoughts are echoed by author and columnist Richard Gwyn (1995). It is Gwyn's fear that with the present Canadian policy of multiculturalism, which fosters a tolerance for all things ethnic, there is the chance that the "community is going to be fractured beyond recovery by some metastic combination of segregated schools, separate justice systems, and an RCMP parading in yarmulkes, chadors, saris, and kilts" (p. 188). He backs up his argument when he quotes Laura Sabia, feminist and author saying in a speech to the Empire Club of Canada in Toronto in 1972 "A dastardly deed has been perpetrated upon Canadians by politicians whose motto is 'divide and rule.' I, for one, refuse to be hyphenated. I am a Canadian, first and foremost" (p. 187). Gwyn further supports his argument by citing Bharati Mukherjee who was an immigrant to Canada at one point, as saying that multiculturalism "by preserving differences, preserves biases" (p. 187).

Just as there are detractors, there are strong proponents of official multiculturalism. Kymlicka (1997) is one of them. He discounts the arguments of Bissoondath (1994) and Gwyn (1995) saying they provide no empirical evidence for their claims. It is his view that the critics of multiculturalism view the policy in isolation,

not taking into account other factors and policies that encourage immigrants to become part of mainstream Canadian society. It is his contention that Canada's official multiculturalism policy is the best in the world. The fact that Canada has very high rates of inter-ethnic friendships and marriages must mean that the policy is working better than its opponents say it is. Echoing the views of Kymlicka (1997) are Fleras and Elliott (1991). In their text devoted to the issue of multiculturalism, they offer a cogent discussion for why a policy of multiculturalism is necessary and beneficial to a country. It is their belief that the multiculturalism policy in Canada has been "a force for shaping our collective identity as a generous and tolerant people" (p. 3). Despite the views of Gwyn (1995) and Bissoondath (1994), Fleras and Elliott (1991) contend that ideologies such as assimilation and integration devalue diversity, whereas the ideology of multiculturalism "constitutes a set of ideas and ideals for rejoicing in the virtues of diversity" (p. 67). The issues of whether multiculturalism works and whether it is considered important to Canadians are unclear. There are public opinion surveys that show that Canadians are in favour of the policy and there are others that show a decline in support for it.

A national survey conducted by Berry, Kalin & Taylor (1977), concluded that, with regard to newcomers to this country, Canadians supported integration over assimilation. Berry et al. also found that there was some expectation that people who come to this country should show some "accommodation" (p. 295) to the Canadian way of life. In discussions and surveys on multiculturalism metaphors such as "mosaic" and "melting pot" are given prominence. Canada prides itself on offering its citizens a cultural mosaic completely opposite to her neighbour to the south which promotes a melting pot ideology. In an extensive survey in which he asked respondents whether they favoured the "mosaic" (continued upholding of ethnic values and traditions) or the "melting pot" (total assimilation into host culture) concept, Reginald Bibby (1987) concluded that 56 percent of persons favoured a "mosaic" over a "melting pot." Despite this survey, Bibby (1990) has had second thoughts with regard to the issue of multiculturalism. It is now his belief that there is less support for the mosaic concept

than previously suggested. He worries that Canada has turned into a country that focuses on "individualism" to the "detriment of the group" (p. 14). He is also concerned that Canadian society will disintegrate into many parts if individualism is given continued prominence over the society as a whole. There would be need for another study such as the one conducted by Bibby to indicate whether community support for the mosaic concept is still alive. Countries of origin for newcomers to Canada have changed in the last decade. Newcomers from countries such as Hong Kong and Bosnia have immigrated to Canada for different reasons. The former for economic reasons and the latter to escape a war in which they were turned into refugees. Having immigrants from different source countries to those in the previous decades may change the opinions of Canadians on whether they still favour a "mosaic" to a "melting pot."

Kalbach and Kalbach (1995) tried to determine whether social reality and the official multicultural policy are on the same "wave length." They conducted research on "ethnic connectedness" and the degree to which it facilitates or impedes assimilation. They make several connections between age at immigration and acculturation. Their study indicates that the younger the age at immigration the greater the likelihood of weakened cultural ties to the ethnic community. However, they found some correlation between the connection to ethnic churches and religious affiliations as well as lower levels of education and economic status and lack of acculturation.

Despite the rhetoric that flows back and forth between the proponents and opponents of multiculturalism, it is important to remember that the policy of official multiculturalism is a government policy. This policy was designed to allow individuals to both identify with their cultural and historical pasts and to willingly participate in Canadian cultural, social and political institutions. One way this objective can be reached is by engaging all participants in an educational process about diversity and tolerance. The educational process which promotes understanding of all cultures, encourages communication with other cultures, attacks racism in all its forms and fosters equality of people from all cultures can be defined as multicultural education.

Multicultural Education

The phrase "multicultural education" implies that education will be conducted in a manner that is favourable to both the majority and minority cultures that attend the school. Nieto (1996, cited in Huerta, 1999, p. 2) suggests that terms such as *multicultural education, multiethnic education,* and *diversity education* are sometimes used interchangeably when used to describe multicultural education. Add to that the term *minority education* and the issue becomes even more confusing. To arrive at a definition of multicultural education is difficult and complex. There has been focus on the components that should make up an all encompassing definition. One aspect that all the definitions agree upon is that a "multicultural education entails some degree of responsiveness to the presence of cultural diversity within the school environment" (Fleras & Elliott, 1991, p. 187). How then can a multicultural education and the eventual goal (of the host country) of integration of the ethnic minority into the dominant culture go hand in hand? The answer lies in the Canadian perspective of the "mosaic" paradigm instead of the "melting pot" one, which has been adopted in the United States of America.

The literature on multicultural education is exhaustive and covers different aspects of the issue. Arriving at a consensus of what a multicultural education encompasses is a formidable task since the stakeholders often have differing views on the concept of multicultural education. To appreciate the complexity of the issue the following are some of the questions that would need to be considered when designing a multicultural education programme: Does a multicultural education include the offering of several courses on the different cultures and religions to be found in the school community, and the celebration of ethnic minority feasts and religious holy days? Should study of the mainstream culture be included in a multicultural education curriculum? When considering teachers, should these courses be taught by members of an ethnic minority? Or, is any qualified instructor capable of teaching such courses? Who should be allowed to enter these courses? Should they be reserved for students from ethnic minorities or should they be open to the general student body? Does a

multicultural education include quotas for ethnic minority students in schools and post secondary institutions? Should these students be recent immigrants to the host country or is it acceptable to consider them for entry on the quota system if they were born in Canada?

In designing an effective multicultural education programme, its authors would need to consider the content, scope, target population, objectives, effectiveness, concept and the style of education (Fleras & Elliott, 1991). In the past, multicultural education has tended to emphasize the more colourful, superficial aspects of minority cultures. Features such as customs, costumes, foods, festivals and artifacts were highlighted. Even though these are salient aspects of a culture, focusing only on these components did not give students a full picture of ethnic minority cultures.

Fleras and Elliott (1991) offer four comprehensive models of multicultural education. They are: compensatory, enrichment, enhancement and empowerment. The compensatory and empowerment models have minority students primarily as their targets. The enrichment and enhancement models target all students and administrators, teachers and students respectively. In the enrichment model, all students are exposed to a multicultural education. The objective of this model is to encourage students to develop an awareness of and an appreciation for different cultures. The history and culture of ethnic minorities are studied in the context of social and historical relationships to Canada. Ethnic cultures such as the First Nations people, the Chinese, East Indian Sikhs, the Japanese and Afro-Canadians have lived and worked in Canada since the turn of the century. It is important to ensure that textbooks and curricula reflect the history and contributions of these cultures. It is hoped that the feelings of Nancy Hoo Kong (1996) a black student who said "by not learning about Black pioneers I left grade three feeling as if I was living in a society which rendered me, a Black person, as a non-contributing intruder" (p. 21) never have to be felt again. The enhancement model of multicultural education goes further than the enrichment model. In this model, all stakeholders learn and understand the various issues that make up this form of education. "Issues for discussion include cultural relativism, non-ethnocentrism,

sensitivity and tolerance for diversity, racial and ethnic stratification, and prejudice, discrimination and racism" (Fleras & Elliott, 1991, p. 192). Along with demonstrating a critical awareness of the issues, students, staff and administration have to be prepared to work together to maintain the organizations' cultural diversity as well as to combat racism and discrimination within the school milieu.

This view is shared by Banks (1997). He contends that ethnic content in a curriculum should be studied by all students in the educational institution and not be relegated to specialized courses in which only ethnic minority students are enrolled. He offers three models (Model A, B and C) for multicultural curriculum modification. In Model A, called the *Mainstream Centric Model*, most courses are taught from the mainstream perspective. In Model B, called the *Ethnic Additive Model*, ethnic content is added on to the major curriculum but still taught from the mainstream perspective. Model C is called the *Multiethnic Model*. According to Banks, this is the preferred model for teaching multicultural education. In this model "the curriculum is transformed and students study historical, social, artistic, and literary events and concepts from several ethnic, cultural and gender perspectives. Mainstream perspectives are only one group of several and are in no way superior or inferior to other perspectives" (Banks, 1997, p. 17).

In order that a multicultural curriculum be effective the teachers that implement it need to be properly trained in its delivery. Research conducted by Irwin (1997) and Huerta (1999) on the training provided to preservice teachers indicate that very often teachers are unprepared for the cultural diversity they find in the classroom. They suggest that "a teacher's initial encounter with issues of cultural diversity and culturally diverse children, therefore, should not be in the classroom with pupils but during college preserve teacher preparation (Irwin, 1997, p. 2). A multicultural education agenda should become part of "each faculty member's research agenda" (Huerta, 1999, p. 14) which involves administration and all faculty collaborating to provide a meaningful multicultural education programme.

To address the issue of multicultural education properly requires considerable

dedication and will on the part of its advocates. Researchers such as Sleeter (1996) worries that the multicultural education programmes of today are forgetting why they came into being, namely: arising out of the "struggles of African American, then other racial minority groups" (p. 1) and have become "disassociated in many schools from its roots in social movement" (p. 1). Bigelow (1999) is concerned that standardized testing in social studies threatens multicultural curriculum. He believes that answering questions through multiple choice tests does not allow the student the chance to give adequate explanations for issues raised in social studies courses. Other researchers offer strategies on how to foster multicultural education (Nagel, 1998; Durodoye, 1998). These strategies were presented to groups of teachers who were attempting to implement multicultural teaching in their schools.

Multicultural Education in Alberta

The participants of the current study are Indo-Canadian students who were educated in the public school system in Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario. Part of the process of arriving at one's choice of ethnic identity is one's experiences with learning and socializing during the school years. The students in this study were educated in a multicultural milieu in which they were a small segment of the "visible minority" culture that was part of the school populace. An important question then arises, namely: if the students are being educated in a multicultural milieu does it necessarily follow that they are receiving a multicultural education? There is a paucity of research on the implementation of multicultural educational programmes in Alberta. However, a study conducted in the province of Alberta which focussed on South Asian families is an interesting one.

In his study on South Asian families in a small urban area, Abraham (1980) surveyed, among other factors, "the transmission of socio-cultural values by the South Asian parents and the education system on the development of Indo-Canadian individuals" (p. 3). One of the goals of the study was to find out whether the expectations of South Asian families and the education system were compatible.

The study concluded that South Asian families were dissatisfied with the education system. It was their assessment that the "curriculum, administration and quality of teachers were inadequate for multicultural education. It was felt that too much emphasis is placed on the white superiority which has significant repercussions on East Indian students' perception of reality" (p. 9). Some of the dissatisfaction arose from the parents' attachment to traditional native country values and an expectation that their children should follow these values. The tug-of-war between values taught at home, those of their peers, and those taught at school made life for South Asian children extremely stressful. The recommendations that arose out of the study suggested that in order for a school community to offer a multicultural education the community at large must become cognizant of cross-cultural "elements of Canadian life, and basically learn what the world is really like" (p. 19). The author also makes suggestions for how ethnic minority communities can improve relations between themselves and their children and the dominant host culture.

Multicultural Education and Minority Students

Research in the United States on multicultural education and on the expectations and possibilities of minority students on campus have concluded that minority people "should be intimately involved in programs that are directed at minorities" (Nunez, 1971, p. 127). There is a consensus among some educators that minorities such as Native Americans, Chicanos and Blacks in the United States should plan and implement programmes that involve them. They believe that there should also be changes to recruitment and admission criteria. One suggestion made to altering admission criteria would be to use interviews, letters of reference, personal backgrounds on family along with grade point averages (Nunez, 1971; Forbes, 1971; Chavarria, 1971; Smith, 1971).

More recently, a required course at Stanford University in the United States on Western Civilization was replaced to focus on courses on "minorities, Third World peoples, and women" (Glazer, 1997, p. 83). Glazer also cites instances of sit-ins in institutions where students were demanding more black and Hispanic faculty and more

black, Hispanic and Asian American studies. In the past year the University of California, Berkeley has taken steps to recruit minorities. Since the institution of Proposition 209 which banned admissions to Colleges in California on racial grounds, minority admissions dropped at the University of Berkeley. The Chancellor, Robert Berdahl, is quoted as having said that in order to attract minorities, the university would "emphasize the diversity that University of California, Berkeley offers--a level of diversity which exceeds that of Harvard and Yale universities" (Schiebelhut & Weiss, 1998). He also planned to personally call minority students and encourage them to attend the university.

Some research has been conducted on Asian-American students, who are of Chinese heritage. This research has shown that these students experienced considerable parental pressure to succeed in school (Ogbu, 1983; Ong, 1976 cited in Mah, 1995). Very little research is available on the educational experiences of Indo-Canadian students. To help ease some of the social pressures faced by minority group students, the importance and implementation of a multicultural education should be seen as a positive step, "in theory at least, the utility and justice of an education thrust which aims to alert children to the varied world around them...to inculcate cross-cultural respect and to form a bulwark against racism and intolerance" (Edwards, 1992, p. 29). In that school curricula across the country differ, and are subject to the sensitivity and interest of individual school boards and the community at large, it is impossible to tell without specific studies if the school experience for minority group members has any impact on helping to shape ethnic identity.

Traditional Indian Gender Roles

Much of the literature related to gender issues in the Indian culture indicates that males and females are reared and socialized in different ways. Traditionally, the Indian family is structured as a patriarchal hierarchy. This type of society values sons over daughters. A preference for males results from an expectation that sons will become the primary source of support for parents in their later years. A daughter has been described

as a "sojourner in her own family" (Kakar, 1986, p. 27). She is considered to be a guest in her own family home, a person waiting to marry and to move into her husband's home. While she waits to be married she can learn how to perform domestic duties, attend institutions of higher education and, more recently, in a modern India, she can find employment outside the home. In traditional Indian families a woman is ranked below the father and the son on the hierarchical scale. Her status improves once she has become a mother and if she has borne a son, her status is elevated.

In her research conducted in 1960 and documented in her book entitled *She who rides a peacock,* Cormack offers a different view of women in her discussion on the lives of students in India. Along with a focus on education, her research explores the changes in the Indian family, the place of women, marriage and religion and ritual among other topics. Despite previous depictions of women as being ranked lower on the hierarchical scale, Cormack discovered that women in India in 1960 were facing challenges that differed from those of their parents and grandparents. These women did not wish to be equal in name only. Even though they believed that marriage was inevitable and sometimes considered it a career, they wished to have careers outside of marriage as well. Statements such as "career is essential, marriage is not" and "all women should follow careers with devotion before marriage and as they can after marriage" and "if we are equal to me -- and I think we are -- why not have a career for a few years? A career makes life more interesting" (p. 109) were offered by the respondents in her research. Her study also included questions on the place of women in education, obedience and women, things women should be encouraged to do, among many others. The male respondents in the survey had some interesting responses to her questions on the role of women as they saw it. For instance one male student wrote "Women should have more chance in every sphere of life, but the habit of opposing men -- whether right or wrong -- should not be developed. Women should not be emotional in their thinking" (p. 105). This type of comment led Cormack to believe that most young Indian men wanted "the old and new woman wrapped up in one package" (p. 105). In 1960, women in Cormack's study were searching for new experiences and new knowledge much like

women in western countries. In India today, women do not have to fight to have careers, or to continue with higher education. However, they do face some of the traditional aspects of Indian culture, namely arranged marriages, restrictions on independence, and unquestioning obedience to parents.

Gender and Second Generation

For second generation children in Canada and the United States, having to contend with their parents' Indian ways and continuance of Indian traditions is often the source of much discord and tension within families. Women are expected to be "chaste, obedient, and attentive to the needs of their families" (Das Gupta, 1997, p. 12). Their conduct is more strictly scrutinized than that of their brothers and other male relatives. Women are also expected to submit unquestioningly to their parents' ideas on education, social life and marriage. Das Gupta (1997) in her study of four second generation Indo-American women, learned that the women acutely felt the double standard that was imposed on them. In a comparison of treatment between herself and her brother one woman said:

> After a while, that [the rules that applied to her] does not seem fair. Then you start breaking rules. I was never allowed to go away from home to study. But my brother has got away with a lot. Right now he is away at college. He worked night shifts and returned at three in the morning. Or he goes out at ten at night saying he would be back in half an hour but he stays out until twelve. That does not create a problem (Das Gupta, 1997, p. 13).

This same woman was not allowed to leave home to attend college. She was expected to stay at home until her marriage. In that same study another woman had felt that her mother had expected her to learn how to perform chores and domestic duties but these same tasks were never required of her brother. This woman had also experienced stricter controls on her social life than her brother who was allowed to date Indian and non Indian women. She, on the other hand was not allowed to date at all.

Other studies conducted in the US and Canada corroborate these women's stories. Despite having parents who immigrated to North America in the nineteen

sixties, seventies and eighties, the second generation woman feels that "old-world gender roles are still rigidly being upheld for her" (Agarwal, 1991, p. 52, cited in Dasgupta, 1998, p. 957). These "old-world" gender roles are particularly obvious in the area of dating and heterosexual friendships. (Menon, 1989; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Stopes-Roe & Cochrane, 1987; Dasgupta, 1998; Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1996b; Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1997).

Another important factor to be considered in the issue of male and female equality in the South Asian culture is the responsibility that is placed on the shoulders of the women to uphold family honour and community standing. Women are given the responsibility of socializing their children, particularly their daughters into roles that could be considered anachronistic and not in the least like those found in modern India. As upholders of the Indian culture second generation women "feel obligated to play the passive, unprotesting, ritual-bound, gender-typed role of a "good Indian women" (Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1997, p. 193). Women who question these traditional roles are often ostracized and treated with condemnation by other community members. They are also considered to be too westernized, a quality not admired by a traditional first generation.

Gender roles, while not as restrictive and severely regulated for the males are nevertheless ingrained during the socialization of male children. Asian males are often stereotyped as being academic, intellectual, mild-mannered, sexist, passive, and unassertive (DasGupta, 1997; DasGupta & Dasgupta 1996a). In order to counter these stereotypes Asian males encourage their sisters to be "passive, docile homebodies" and in this way "ascertain their masculinity." The authors also contend that for these men, it is important that the women they chose to marry will fit the same roles that they have assigned to their sisters and other female relatives. Any level of independence or self-reliance in a woman is considered a betrayal to the cultural and community values of the Indian diaspora, thus making the woman unmarriageable. (Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1996b).

Marriage

The concept of marriage, its rituals, and the many factors that make up the institution of marriage in India have not been adhered to as strongly in Canada by the first and second generations of Indo-Canadians as in their ancestral home.

Marriage in India is viewed more as an alliance between families and not as the merger of two individuals.

> The arranged marriage serves to preserve cultural and caste identity in the following ways: (i) maintains social stratification of Indian society; (ii) gives parents control over family members; (iii) enhances the preservation and continuance of ancestral lineage; (iv) strengthens kinship relationships; (v) consolidates and extends family property; and (vi) preserves the principle of caste endogamy
> (Rao & Rao, 1986, cited in Vaidynathan & Naidoo, 1988, p. 48).

A traditional marriage in India for most young people still consists of a marriage arranged by the parents or elders to someone from the same religion and caste. Very often the couple are not consulted and preparations for the marriage proceed without their consent. However, with the high number of young people, particularly women, now attaining postsecondary levels of education and consequently becoming more independent and westernized, the influence of parents over choice of partner is becoming significantly less.

For second generation Indo-Canadians the concept of an arranged marriage is often the cause of some tension and discord between parents and children. In Canada and the United States parents continue to arrange marriages for their children. First generation parents try to choose mates for their children from the same caste, religion, language background, and social status as themselves. These marriages are arranged through marriage brokers, advertisements in the newspapers in India and in Canada and the United States, and through family connections. The following are typical advertisements in the newspaper called *India Abroad* published in New York:

Correspondence invited for handsome Gujarati attorney, 32/5'10", slim, graduate of Ivy League Law School and practising at prestigious law firm; from beautiful, slim, sophisticated, US raised girl, at least 5'4". No bars. Photo must.

Or

Extremely handsome, MD, 32/5'9", elite Christian family, has well established practice, caring, athletic, outgoing personality; seeks tall, v. slim, v. attractive, educated girl with values/family oriented. Bio-data, telephone no., full length returnable photo a must. No bars.

In Canada and the United States not only parents are putting marriage advertisements in the newspapers. At times, older single men and more independent women have searched for a partner for themselves through the newspaper (Menon, 1989).

As opposed to traditional Indian marriages where parents arrange the marriage without the consent of the couple, most second generation young people wish to make their own choice of spouse but with the involvement of their parents. Parents have compromised and given up their traditional role of being the primary selector of the spouse for their children and have allowed them to be a part of the selection and decision making process (Menon, 1989). Most second generation young people attach little or no importance to caste in their choice of mates. In some studies even religion is not considered to be high on the list of criteria for choice of mate. (Vaidyanathan & Naidoo, 1988; Siddique, 1983; Kurian & Ghosh, 1983; Buchignani, Indra & Srivastava, 1985; Menon, 1989).

Present Study

The preceding literature review indicates that the retention of a person's ethnic identity and the subsequent integration into the host society can evolve over several stages. There is also evidence that some minorities choose not to integrate fully into the host culture, and continue to hold on to their culture and traditions. This becomes evident when the first generation demands allegiance to the native culture from its foreign born children. These children often rebel and either reject the native culture

completely or pay superficial homage to it in order to satisfy their parents and families. Parents who are aware of the difficulties faced by their foreign born children are sometimes willing to allow their children to incorporate both their native and the host culture into their lifestyles.

The literature is sparse on second generation Indo-Canadians. Some studies have been conducted in Ontario and British Columbia. The literature reviewed reflects studies conducted in the United States and Britain. In those studies second generation children are subjected to the same and sometimes more stringent rules than their counterparts in India. Second generation females particularly, claim that they are treated differently from their male peers. In that Canada offers minorities a life in a multicultural environment, most second generation persons may not experience the same conditions as their peers in the United States and Britain. This study should help to enlarge the body of literature on second generation Indo-Canadians. The university setting was chosen because the students were at an age where they had probably made a choice with regard to their ethnic identity. As well, I believed there was some superficial evidence that second generation Indo-Canadian students were not as integrated into the host culture as would have been expected given the social and cultural milieu and the socio-economic status of the students. This study probes into the lives of the second generation Indo-Canadian students and reflects on whether the literature adequately depicts the lives of these persons.

CHAPTER 3
INTERVIEWS WITH PARTICIPANTS

Overview

I conducted focus group interviews and, subsequently 4 one-on-one interviews. One focus group consisted of 5 females and the other of 4 males. Members for each focus group had been solicited through recommendations from friends, an e-mail requesting participants sent to graduate students through the Graduate Students' Association, and through members of the community at large. The final stage of the study consisted of one-on-one interviews with 1 male and 3 females who did not take part in the first part of the study.

Trustworthiness of the Data

My personal belief is that high levels of both ethnic identity and acculturation will allow an individual to move freely between cultures, to enjoy the benefits of his or her own minority culture and that of the host culture. Persons from minority cultures often wish to acquire new host community traditions and simultaneously shed some old traditions. The altering of ingrained and traditional values and beliefs may not be an easy process. In that this study was entirely qualitative, it was inevitable that some of the reporting was subjective with some amount of bias on both my part and on the parts of the participants. Upon reflecting on the interviews and reading the transcripts, I believe that the participants were honest and open about their beliefs and perceptions. This openness was apparent throughout the interviews and for example, even though Donny and B.P., and Steve and Miroslav were friends, they offered opinions and participated in the discussions and sometimes disagreed with each other, without any reticence.

I had been concerned that after they knew the general focus of the study the participants would engage in hypothesis guessing during the interviews. In a study of this nature, it is impossible to completely ensure against this possibility. Again, since the

participants did not give the impression during the discussions that they wished to lean in any particular direction, and a comment from Anna during the interview, when discussing choice of friends based on ethnicity, when she said: "I was scared actually to put forth this view..." but continued to give her opinion, encouraged me to think that they were willing to offer honest opinions and not knowingly engage in hypothesis guessing or offer what could be considered the "politically correct" answer instead of their own true views. It is also impossible to be completely sure that all interpretations of the discussions were as the participants intended them to be. However, my own experiences within the culture, the literature that I had reviewed, and the feedback and some clarifications that I made after the participants had read the transcripts, lead me to believe that I have interpreted the findings as truthfully and without bias as possible.

Participants

Female focus group participants. The five members of the group were between 18 to 31 years of age. Two of the participants were in their first and second years of general science programmes while three were Masters students in Political Science, Engineering, and Library Sciences. The student who is now in the faculty of Library Science has an undergraduate degree in Law. All but one student (Anna) had held jobs. The others had worked as research assistants in a lab and doing legal research, in co-op engineering jobs, in the family business and in a clothing store.

The members described themselves as being Hindu, non-practising Hindu, Sikh, and having no religion. Their parents were described as being from the Hindu and Sikh religions.

All but one member (Sue) spoke a language other than English with her parents. All but one set of parents had a university education, with the majority of parents having post-graduate degrees. Anna's and Malini's mothers did not work outside the home, Sue and Anjali's mothers were realtors and Aladdin's mother was self-employed. Sue's father was a retired teacher, Anjali's father was an engineer, Malini's father a pharmaceutical representative, Anna's father was a business owner and a cab driver and

Aladdin's father owned a gas station. See Table 1 for a summary of information about the female participants.

Table 1

Background information for the female focus group.

Pseudonym	**Anjali**	**Sue**	**Malini**	**Anna**	**Aladdin**
Age	24	31	18	22	19
University Programme	M.Sc. Engineering	M.Sc. Library Sc.	Science	M.A Political Sc.	Science
Religion	None	None	Hindu	Sikh	Sikh
Parent's Religion	M-Hindu F- Atheist	M-Hindu F-Sikh	M-Hindu F-Hindu	M-Sikh F-Sikh	M-Sikh F-Sikh
Languages spoken at home:					
Parents	English, Hindi	English, Punjabi	English, Hindi	M- Punjabi F- Punjabi, English	English, Punjabi
Participant	English Hindi	English	English Hindi	English Punjabi	English Punjabi

Male focus group participants. The four males ranged in age from 18 to 23 years. Two of the members were in general science programmes, one was in political science and the fourth was in Engineering. All four members had held jobs during the summer, as a machine operator, as labourers (2) and as a worker at the family owned gas station.

All members identified themselves and their parents as being members of the Sikh religion.

All members indicated that they spoke English at home. Most parents spoke both English and Punjabi, but B.P.'s parents spoke only Punjabi at home.

The education level of the mothers ranged from a Grade 10 level to a Master's degree. The education level of the fathers ranged from undergraduate degrees to a Ph.D. degree. B.P.'s parents and Steve's father was retired. Steve's mother was deceased. Donny and Miroslav's mothers were business owners. Miroslav's father was semi-retired and worked as a part time consultant and Donny's father was the owner of a gas station. See Table 2 for a summary of background information for the male participants.

Table 2

Background information on male focus group.

Pseudonym	**B.P.**	**Steve**	**Donny**	**Miroslav**
Age	18	21	18	23
University Programme	Science	Political Science	Engineering	Science
Religion	Sikh	Sikh	Sikh	Sikh
Parent's Religion	Sikh	Sikh (mother is deceased)	Sikh	Sikh
Languages spoken at home:				
Parents	Punjabi	English, Punjabi	English, Punjabi	English, Punjabi
Participant	English	English	English	English

One-on-one interview participants. The second stage of the study consisted of one-on-one interviews. Participants were obtained through recommendations from other students and again through the Graduate Students' Association e-mail to all members.

Transcripts from the first two focus group interviews were reviewed and the

data were categorized into themes and sub-themes. New questions were designed from the focus group data which probed deeper into the participants' experiences as Indo-Canadians, their participation in religious activities, and their views on marriage and the Indian culture (See Appendix B)

Four one-on-one interviews with 3 females and 1 male were conducted. A scheduled interview with other male did not take place because circumstances were such that we were unable to re-schedule the interview. The one hour interviews were audio-taped.

The ages of the females ranged from 22 to 27. The male participant (Kumar) was 23 years of age and was a Ph.D student. Of the three females, Paula was a Ph.D student, Rebecca a Master's student and Fathima was enrolled in the second year of medicine.

Paula and Rebecca were Christian and Fathima belonged to the Islamic religion. Kumar was a Hindu. The parents were identified as belonging to the same religions as their children.

All the participants spoke English at home. However, except for Fathima whose parents spoke only English, all the other participants' parents spoke more than one language at home.

All parents had post secondary education ranging from undergraduate to post graduate degrees. Kumar's and Rebecca's mothers were nurses, Paula's a physio-therapist and Fathima's a physician. Kumar's father was a draftsman, Rebecca's a nurse, Paula's an occupational therapist and Fathima's a physician.

Table 3

Background information for one-on-one interviews

Pseudonym	**Kumar (M)**	**Paula (F)**	**Rebecca (F)**	**Fathima (F)**
Age	23	27	24	22
University Programme	Ph.D Chemistry	Ph.D Genetics	M.Sc. Health Promotion	Medicine 2nd year
Religion	Hindu	Christian	Christian	Islam
Parent's Religion	Hindu	Christian	Christian	Islam
Languages spoken at home: Parents	English, Punjabi	English, Hindi	English, Malayalam	English
Participant	English	English	English	English

Interviews

Prior to the interviews, I had a discussion with each participants and provided them with information about the purpose of the study and what the time commitments would be. The participants were told that they would have to sign a formal letter of consent giving permission to use their comments in the write up of the study. This letter requested confidentiality on the part of the participants and also assured them that the discussions would be confidential and that they would not be coerced or obliged to answer any questions that made them uncomfortable. The letter of consent also indicated that the participants had the right to withdraw consent to participate in the study at any time during the interview process.

Confidentiality

To ensure confidentiality the participants were asked to choose a pseudonym to be used during the interview. They were also asked to provide me with another pseudonym to be used only in the thesis. The pseudonym used during the interviews

would not appear anywhere in the thesis. The participants were advised that the interviews would be audio-taped and that I would be the only person transcribing the tapes and reviewing the transcripts.

Procedure

The focus group interviews took one and a half hours each. Before each interview the participants filled out a form with background information on themselves and their parents and were advised that the interview would be audio-taped and that I would provide them with transcripts of the interview to check their accuracy. They were told that they had veto rights over these transcripts. The right to veto and to clarify any material in the transcripts assured the participants that there was no opportunity to be misquoted.

I conducted the interviews by asking questions from an interview guide (Appendix B). The questions were asked of each participant and a group discussion followed each question. The questions consisted of general ethnic identity questions, questions on educational experiences, and a separate set of questions for each gender focus group.

After the interviews I provided the transcripts to each of the participants for their feedback. From these transcripts I identified certain topics that required further discussion. I designed a new interview guide to delve deeper into these topics and to learn about personal experiences as they related to ethnic identity and integration.

Findings

Even though the interviews were conducted in two stages, the discussions conducted in the focus groups and in the one-on-one interviews were related in matter and content. Topics that arose from the focus group interviews were discussed in further detail in the one-on-one interviews. The information obtained from the one-on-one interviews corroborated what was discussed in the focus group interviews. Other than religious differences, the students reiterated what the focus group students had

already said. For this reason the results have been consolidated and analysed collectively.

The findings are discussed under thematic headings. I chose the topics that were discussed during the interviews based on the review of the literature and my own anecdotal information and observations. Through the discussions it became evident that these topics were also interesting and important to the students. They indicated this to me by their eagerness to participate in the discussions.

Ethnic Identity

For the 13 Indo-Canadian students who participated in this study the issue of ethnic identity is not at the forefront of their day to day lives. This does not mean that they deny their Indian heritage. It suggests, however, that these students are well adjusted and acculturated to the extent that they do not need to focus on their ethnic minority status. The majority of them (8) stated that if asked what their nationality is they call themselves 'Canadian'. Others (4) would say they were Indo-Canadian and one indicated that he called himself an East Indian.

All the students believed that it was almost always necessary to clarify and elaborate on their self-identification especially if they called themselves Canadian. They provided comments such as the following:

Paula: I usually say that my heritage is East Indian. I was born in Canada so I consider myself Canadian first.

Rebecca: I think usually at first I say that I am Canadian but I always explain that my parents are from India.

Sue: Canadian would be the first thing I'd say but usually there was always more to the question. So people would then say "what do you mean? I mean really. No where are your parents from?"

The elaboration was deemed necessary because often the questioner assumed that the student was an immigrant. The students that identified themselves as Indo-Canadian did so for specific reasons as can be seen here:

Anna: You know, just growing up and going back to India a couple of times on my own you have this awareness of your position....but there was a time I think for the majority of my life when I would say simply that I was Canadian.

Malini: I have always been around Indian people, so whenever I talk to non-Indian people I go...I am of Indian heritage or background but I was born here.

B.P.: When I was younger I called myself Canadian but now I call myself Indo-Canadian ...basically because of my religion I guess. I went to India and learned a lot about my culture.

Miroslav: I'd say East Indian. I always have. I know I am Canadian but if someone asks me that question specifically I'd say East Indian....maybe if I was outside Canada and someone asked me that question I'd say Canadian. But in Canada to me I've always said East Indian.

The necessity to clarify that they were actually Canadians had been experienced by all the students. The words of one student seem to explain it well.

Kumar: I think that on meeting somebody it is fairly obvious that I am Indian....people's curiosity about your origins tends to arise.

However, this same student saw no necessity to say Indo-Canadian because in his words "the Indo part is somewhat self-evident" but he did give clarification by saying his parents came from India.

The literature on ethnic identity offers several definitions and views on what constitutes identification with a culture. Identification with native or traditional (in-group) culture to a lesser degree may suggest greater identification with the host (out-group) culture. The reverse is also true. Positive relations with the out-group and with other cultures while maintaining some ties with the traditional culture indicates a degree of integration into the host culture (Phinney, 1997; Gans, 1979; Kim, 1998). When questioned about contact and interactions with persons from other cultures and particularly from the host culture, the majority of participants indicated that to some degree they had friends who were not Indo-Canadian. However one female (Aladdin) and three male participants (Donny, Miroslav, and B.P.) reported that they preferred the company of Indo-Canadians. Although Miroslav had primarily non-Indian friends during

his school years. Even though these students opted to associate primarily with other Indo-Canadian students, they made it clear that being "brown" was not their only criterion for friendship. The following are some of their comments:

Aladdin: If I don't like their attitude then I am not going to be their friend.

When speaking about other Indo-Canadians who wish to have friends exclusively from the Indian culture she expanded:

Aladdin: I'll never be friends with them because they are too narrow minded and ignorant to understand the global issues, the general issues, so I don't even bother wasting my time.

And the males in the focus group had this to say:

Donny: I am not saying I am not comfortable with other colours. I am not trying to make that point either. The thing is I have grown up with a lot of brown people. From the time I've been small my friends have been brown so the thinking carries on.

Steve: Because as he was saying he (Donny) was raised with most of his friends and he trusts them. It's the same with Miroslav here. His friends are all brown and so that's why they hang out together. And the only brown people I know are through him. So if I see them I stop and talk to them. Today I was part of one of the groups in Tory. It doesn't bother me. Whoever are your better friends you hang out with.

And two of the participants of the one-on-one interviews had these comments:

Kumar: I am not sure how much of that is because you choose your friends so much as it is that there is a large Indian community here in Edmonton and that people grow up together and that parents in the East Indian community know each other often times. And that's who you socialize with a lot of the time for that reason. And so, friendships tend to grow naturally for that reason. I am sure a lot of East Indians have non East Indian friends but I am not sure how noticeable that is.

Rebecca: My school friends were white and it's not as if I actively chose one or the other, they tended to be more white. Same thing in high school. But when I started to get into university, because there is a larger Indian population here I started to warm up to being more friendly with East Indians. And I think that's how they have become more in my mainstream everyday group

of friends. So my friends are from all different kinds of backgrounds. I still have friends from high school that I am very close to.

And from another student:

Paula: And it wasn't until for example, until I was in high school that there was a larger population in the school and there were noticeably more East Indians and the closest friends that I made were East Indian. And then again in university there was a greater population of individuals and I associated with several East Indian people. So as I got older and the population of the school that I attended increased, there was more likelihood of me being in an environment were there were more East Indian people....when I was in university I joined an East Indian Student Association. Not so much because I feel that I get along better with East Indians or necessarily have more in common with them. There is a commonality there in something that is shared.

I raised the question about the students joining Indian clubs or religious organizations on campus. I was interested to find out if they thought it necessary to belong to such organizations that have been established on campus to provide support to ethnic minority students. I knew that there was a Muslim students' association and an Indian students' association since both those organizations had helped provide me with names of potential participants for the study.

Aladdin: That Indian students' association is bad bad (laughter). My friend went to join up. It's a club. It says India so you are going to go to meet some people. She said it was the worst experience of her life. They want to develop a hierarchy system so people will have more control over you. They, like, look at girls and are, like, okay, you know your place. Now you can go and sit down over there while we do our business dealings. They are very orthodox and that can hurt us.

Donny: (speaking about what the clubs do) It's a good thing to have that kind of stuff you know. It brings cultural awareness out there you know. I know my sister and her friends participated in the Indian function. They did a dance (during International Week).

Paula: I am facing disadvantages because I don't feel I am part of a larger ethnic group and that's why one of the reasons I did actually join the East Indian Students' Association when I was an undergraduate. And that's why I

> would still maybe be interested in joining another group back here, just so that I do get the feeling of inclusion and being exposed to the culture a little bit more. But, one of the things that I didn't like about being part of the East Indian association that I was involved in when I was an undergraduate was the fact that it did seem very exclusive. And I was not comfortable with that, and a lot of things were made out to stereotype us, to what an Indian person is or what a person who is East Indian is.

Although Donny believed that there was a place for such organizations on the campus to provide cultural awareness, both Aladdin and Paula were concerned that these associations were too "Indian" and were laying down expectations of how students of East Indian heritage should behave. None of the participants were members of ethnic organizations on campus although Fathima was a member of the Muslim students' association. This association has members from various ethnic backgrounds and is primarily a religious based organization.

Discussion

The concept of sharing a common heritage, traditions, values and beliefs was often mentioned by the participants. For some of the students, having primarily East Indian friends made life easier. Since the parents of these friends often came from the same religious and linguistic backgrounds, they shared common beliefs and, more often than not, similar upbringings. Hence rituals, festivals, foods, customs, and other "Indian" behaviours did not need to be explained or discussed with East Indian friends as they often had to be with friends from other cultures who needed explanations about cultural traditions and beliefs such as arranged marriages. This sharing of positive in-group friendships for the participants, and their continued contact with out-group persons, is reflective of Phinney's (1997) research on adolescents and the reasons for improved intergroup attitudes. All of the participants in this study were able to traverse both the Canadian and the Indian cultural milieux with ease and with no lack of sense of self.

The perceptions of these participants' ethnic identity was very acute. They all

reported that their parents were, on some issues, more entrenched in Indian culture in Canada than their extended families who lived in India. The words of Anjali "our parents immigrated like in the 60s and their mind set is still in that time" accurately described the feelings of the students. Other research studies (DasGupta, 1997; DasGupta & Dasgupta, 1996a; Das Gupta, 1997; Buchignani, Indra & Srivastava, 1985) support what the students here perceive about parents and parents' retention of cultural traditions. First generation Indo-Canadians, like first generation South Asians in other Western countries, feel that their cultural values are threatened. This is particularly evident in societies such as Canada and the United States which place a great deal of emphasis on independence and freedom for young people, encourage the questioning of societal norms and traditions, and allow children to pursue their own choices in education, marriage partners and lifestyles. These aspects of western culture are anathema to some South Asian parents because they are diametrically opposite to traditional Indian culture. Faced with the differences in the two cultures, the parents often continue to focus on traditions and conventions that were practised in India when they lived there. This inevitably forces them to live in a state of nostalgia for a culture they have left behind.

Despite the belief of the students that their parents were holding on to traditions that were ancient, they did not face the same strictures as the second generation persons described in the literature. Even though the parents of the students participated fully in the religious and cultural activities of the Indian community, they had not forced their ideas and values on their children. The literature emphasizes the importance of retention of ethnic identity for the second generation. Both the South Asian community and the first generation parents focus a great deal of attention on "cultural preservation" (Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1996b, p. 231) particularly on second generation women. This attention to cultural preservation is not demanded as strongly from second generation men. Again, contrary to some other studies (Das Gupta, 1997; Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1996b; Dasgupta & DasGupta, 1997) the students acknowledged that their parents would like them to be more "Indian" in some respects, such as dating, choice of

marriage partner, language retention and independence, but, other than making their wishes known to their children, the parents had not pursued full cultural allegiance. The students all believed that many of the freedoms and choices that they had been conceded were because their parents had lived in Canada for over 20 years and in some cases, over 30 years and had themselves adopted some Canadian customs particularly in matters of child raising. This did not mean that some of the participants, both males and females, were not willing to conform and acquiesce to their parents' wishes. These participants after several discussions with their parents on various matters, agreed with their parents' explanations and reasons.

Although some students did not wish to follow fully in their parents' footsteps, they all wished to maintain some of the cultural traditions. They believed in the importance of having roots, particularly given that they do not share the same ethnicity with the dominant host culture. All the students indicated that it was important to keep connected with their traditional culture. They did this by occasionally speaking their parents' native language at home, eating traditional cuisine, listening to Indian music and watching Indian movies, learning classical Indian dancing, reading about Indian history, reading novels written by authors of Indian heritage, practising their parents' religion and taking trips to India. Even if some of the students exhibited more "symbolic" than "behavioural" ethnic identity as discussed by Gans (1970), the students that leaned more towards "behavioural" identity, for example in their choice of friends, their willingness to have an arranged marriage, and continued active religious practice, were still not completely entrenched in the ethnic Indian culture. For one thing they spoke fluent English as well as their parents' native language and did not belong to ethnic organizations on the university campus. These were two powerful indicators for Gans' definition of "behavioural" ethnic identity. The students that identified themselves as Indo-Canadian came from families that followed cultural and religions traditions more faithfully. This may have been a contributing factor to their greater commitment to the Indian culture. These individuals will likely work harder at staying within the Indian community and will even consider practising endogamy, which is considered one of the

most important methods of retaining one's ethnic identity.

The identification of the participants with Indian culture and traditions did not preclude their participation in the Canadian cultural milieu. Since these students had all been born and educated in Canada, language, in this case English, was never an issue. In every respect, other than the obvious fact that they looked "Indian," the students were similar to their peers from "Canadian" households. Most of them had friends who were not Indo-Canadian. At least four of them had previous romantic relationships with non-Indo-Canadians.

The students' identification with Canadian culture results in part from their having been born in Canada. However, credit should be given to the parents of these students for allowing their children to make choices with regard to their ethnic identity. The demographics of the parents indicate that they are leading successful lives in Canada. They had all lived in Canada for over 20 years and some for as long as 35 years. Some of the parents had been educated in India but continued with their further education in Canada. One participant's father had decided to retire to India and live there for part of the year. However, he had not completely severed his ties with Canada and was expected to return to be with his family for some part of the year. It may be the case that if first generation parents have integrated into the host culture in the areas of employment, language, social situations, and education then the likelihood of their children being raised in rigid accord with traditional cultural standards is remote.

Family Influence

The word "family" should be considered synonymous with traditional Indian culture. In India a household often includes the nuclear family as well as in-laws, elderly aunts, uncles and sometimes orphaned relatives. The influence of grandparents and extended family members on children is often as great as that of the parents. For Indo-Canadian families in Canada, extended families living together are rare, although very often grandparents reside with the nuclear family. These grandparents continue to reside with their children indefinitely and play the role of surrogate parents if both parents need

to work outside the home, and often even if they do not work outside. Emphasis is placed on the necessity for respect for authority and elders in the family.

> [Children] are socialized to respect unquestioningly the authority of those who are above them in the age and gendered hierarchy. Children are taught that the authority of parents, grandparents and other older relatives is benevolent, altruistic, beneficent and selfless. The purpose being to protect, educate and guide them so they can grow up secure and safe, to whom the continuation of the family can be entrusted. (Dasgupta, 1997, p. 59).

The participants in this study agreed that their families had an influence on them and indirectly on their ethnic identity; this was in evidence throughout the discussions. The students would refer to their parents when they discussed religion, marriage, gender differences, community behaviour, extended families, and other matters related to Indian culture. It was acknowledged that all the participants had chosen to accept this influence; albeit some to a greater degree than others. Along with the choices of the participants, how much influence the parents exerted was also dependent on each individual family. Some parents chose to focus their influence on matters such as marriage and religion, others allowed their children to make their own decisions after family discussions in which they had indicated their expectations and wishes.

None of the parents of the participants discouraged friendships with people from other cultures although their own friends were primarily from the Indo-Canadian community. In fact, from the comments in the female focus group and the individual female interviews, some of the female participants had not developed friendships with students of Indian heritage until university. Some of the males in the focus group and in the individual interview also went through school with only non-Indian friends. Because some of the participants had grown up in smaller centres, they were often the only Indo-Canadian family or one of a few families in the community. This resulted in the children forming friendships with non Indo-Canadians both in school and around the community.

The information from the students with respect to family influence on ethnic identity is ambiguous. There is some indication in the cases of some of the participants

that one parent has had significantly more influence than the other. In the cases of Aladdin and Donny their father exerts a great deal of influence over their behaviour and over their beliefs as they relate to Indian culture. Their father has also influenced their mother's thinking. This is how Aladdin describes it:

Aladdin: My mum is kind of orthodox....She came to Canada after she'd already been moulded, like her beliefs and thoughts had been in tune with what she was supposed to think. My dad came here when he was 17. You can tell their thinking is reflective of where they've been raised. My dad's had a big impact. It's been 23 years-that they have been married- so my dad's had a big impact on my mum.

Donny also gave his father credit for influencing much of the decision-making which was made in the family and over his lifestyle in particular. Fathima also credited her mother with influencing the decisions she makes.

Fathima: Obviously whatever rules my mother instilled in me I have picked them up but those were based in our religion and I believe those too. I mean we both have the same values.

Another participant, Kumar, felt that his parents, particularly his mother, had tried to influence his friendships when he was in school. However, despite his parents' opinions he paid little attention to their wishes. He described his mother as controlling and wasn't sure how much of an impact she has had with regard to the way he interacts with people. In his case, it was very easy to get along with his father because he was more permissive, but he found himself constantly at odds with his mother.

Since all, but three females and one male still lived at home, it was inevitable that the parents through daily interactions exerted some influence over the lives of the students. The ambiguity is further strengthened in the case of Fathima who is a practising Muslim. In her case, her strict religious observance was her own choice since her parents who are supportive of her do not practise the religion as faithfully as she does. Among other things she wears a hijab (head scarf), prays several times a day, and chooses not to socialize one-on-one with a male person. Not all Muslims observe the

tenets of Islam to the degree Fathima does. This is an example where family influence has not played too significant a part in the religious choices of this participant.

The question of family influence on the participants' identity can be summed up in the words of Donny:

Donny: Brown people are like Klingons. Family honour means everything. Their name means everything.

VS: As long as you don't scream and shout like Worf.

Donny: I don't. We are just like Klingons. Same thing with the Oriental community.

Steve: I've always said Sikhs are like Klingons because they are a warrior class too.

Donny: You know, that's the thing. If your name gets hurt your entire family name...

VS: So family name is important.

Donny: Family name is the most important issue. Even to me raised and born here I understand why it is so important to have a good family name.

Discussion:

In India, the family influences all aspects of a person's life. Socialization of children is the responsibility not only of the parents but of all members of the extended family. For this reason, as explained by Donny, upholding the family name and family honour is a serious matter and should children or other members of the family not adhere to the social norms and responsibilities as expected, serious repercussions such as punishment, and rejection of the family member may result.

Since the Indian extended family is somewhat rare in Canada, the Indo-Canadian community takes on the role of extended family. To counter the lack of family members, family friends and acquaintances appoint themselves as guardians of the morals of the community. The participants in this study referred to these people, who

were predominantly women, as the "aunties" in the community. These aunties kept their ears attuned to the behaviour of the young people and reported to the parents if they saw or heard what they considered to be un-Indian behaviour. It is left up to the parents if they choose to believe what the aunties report or to have regular, open discussions with their children. One of the participants (Anna) described her experiences in this way:

Anna: It gives you this paranoid mentality. Throughout high school I used to think - oh my God, I am in a pool hall. What if someone sees me. And then I had to sit down because I felt like I was going mad...then you become more aggressive in your position because you don't want to [have to prove yourself].

Despite the pressure on some parents to listen to gossip and stories about their own and other children, two participants (Steve and Anjali) indicated that their parents had spoken forcefully to the "aunties" and told them that they did not wish to hear about their children's behaviour. This meddlesome type of behaviour on the part of community members, particularly the older women, is considered acceptable in the Indo-Canadian community but is not condoned by the second generation. In fact it was identified as one of the weaknesses in the culture.

Not all Indo-Canadian families expect their children to behave in ways that would be considered the norm if they lived in India. They realize that to expect complete obedience, to limit romantic relationships and friendships and to curb decision-making is unrealistic since the children are being socialized in a western culture which encourages independence, and mixed gender friendships, and is quite different from the traditional culture. The comment from a parent is self-explanatory: "The idea is to pick up the good habits of Canadians but at the same time not to give up decent Indian customs and replace them by undesirable norms" (Kurian & Ghosh, 1983, p. 133).

Living in a culture very different from that of the Indian culture, some Indo-Canadian parents worry that their children will forget their ethnic identity and more importantly, whether they, as parents, will be able to control their rapid acculturation

into the host culture. They view the messages of "materialistic trappings and sexual allure" (Dasgupta, 1997, p. 60) from the media as insidious and harmful to their children. Their biggest fear is that they will lose some of the influence that they are traditionally expected to wield over their Canadian born children. Contrary to the literature (Das Gupta, 1997; Sandhu, 1989; DasGupta & Dasgupta, 1996a; Dasgupta, 1997) where first generation parents had reservations over the obvious integration of their children into mainstream American and Canadian culture, and forced their children to conform to an anachronistic code of conduct, supposedly in keeping with traditional cultural beliefs, the participants in this study encountered no such resistance from their parents. They did not feel that they had to lead "double lives" (Sandhu, 1989) or put on two faces, one for the Canadian community and the other for the Indian community. One of the participants, Malini was able to clarify what her parents feelings on the subject of integration were.

Malini: They say don't lose touch with your background, but don't forget that you are also living in Canada. You are not pure Indian anymore and you have to meet other people as well. You can't just sit in a little group with your own kind.

Even though the parents of this group of students did not expect their children to conform to traditional Indian customs, they harboured hopes that their children would adopt some of the Indian traditions and even marry persons from the South Asian culture and preferably from the same religion. This is evidenced in some of the comments of the students:

VS: So you are open to marrying somebody who is non-Indian?

Kumar: Yeah, I suppose so. Which will probably make my mother cringe.

VS: What about going on dates? You have had a relationship so obviously you have been on dates. Is that all right with your family?

Rebecca: I think for my parents to be completely 100% happy about it, it would be someone from my own background. So someone who was Malayali,

Christian. And if the person wasn't Malayali, Christian, I don't think I would be telling them. I would keep it quiet.

VS: They did not know about your previous relationship?

Rebecca: No. I am sure that they knew but I never told them.

In considerations as to whether the family influences ethnic identity in Indo-Canadian culture it is important to keep in mind that influence in areas such as dating and choice of mate may be exerted directly and on choice of friends, education and religious duties indirectly. There is no doubt that parents of second generation children hold the family and its honour in high esteem. In this regard, they confirm previous research that states that Indo-Canadian families will sacrifice individuality for the common good of the family (Das Gupta, 1997). The participants in this study did not believe that their parents would go to extreme lengths to ensure that total integration would not take place. However, they agreed that their parents would continue to work hard at controlling and retaining cultural identity in their children. How well they will succeed is not clear.

Gender differences

In traditional Indian culture, males and females are treated differently. In India, the image of a woman is "chaste, modest, nurturing, obedient and loyal" (DasGupta and Dasgupta (1996a, p. 384) Women are responsible for upholding the family honour. This burden of community and family honour make life for an Indian woman full of restrictions and limitations. On the other hand, males are accorded the freedom to choose their careers, socialize with whomever they wish, and live their lives free from the type of shackles imposed upon the women (Buchignani, 1985; DasGupta and Dasgupta, 1996a; Das Gupta, 1997; Cormack, 1961; Kakar, 1986).

When the question of gender differences in treatment was raised all the participants believed that in their own families, both genders were treated equally. These were some of the comments made:

Anjali: My parents have tried hard to not have gender stereotypes between my brother and I. My father's family is more progressive. It was very female dominated. All his sisters worked, were professors, and this was like in the 50s. But on my mum's side totally backwards. My grandmother basically disowned my mum and her sister for something and it was always the sons....and if your husband beat you, you did something wrong. But my parents have kind of transcended those things.

Anna: My parents made a conscious effort to inculcate the belief that we should be self-sufficient and dominated by no man whatsoever. Maybe it's because my parents had children late in life; they couldn't have children in India and maybe it's the fact that we are two girls.

Sue: I was going to say the same thing. We are two girls and you know my dad treated us as he would have treated sons, I am sure.

Aladdin: My dad will make an effort to say - you, my son, are no different than, you, my daughter. My dad has always tried to maintain that there's no sense of difference between my brother and me.

Malini: No problems. I don't have any problems. Sometimes I go - Dad, I don't want to go to school. How about if I marry some rich guy (laughter from the group). He says "No you can worry about that later. Make something of yourself. Earn your own living. If things ever don't work out and something goes wrong you should be able to make money on your own and be self sufficient."

And from the males:

Donny: It's like our dad says - if I can't do something and if they (his 2 sisters) can't then I can't. That's the way it's always been. If they can't go out, why the hell should I be allowed to go out. He doesn't like the double standard. He was raised in it and he hated it. Even I don't like the double standard, you know. My mom, she follows a double standard. She will always treat me a lot differently than my sisters, you know.

Miroslav: It is a safety issue as well. (Continuing a discussion about when females should be home).

Although all of the women felt that they received the same treatment as their brothers, three of them expanded on their thinking with regard to the treatment of females and

males.

Paula: I think that the Indian community places more restrictions, has more expectations of the women, about how East Indian women should be living their lives than they do for males. I think males have a little bit more freedom in that sense. And I think that parallels some of the similarities in India.... I think that is something that does reflect the culture and even though I would agree I came from a family where males and females were treated equally in most respects. In terms of the way my brother and I were raised I would still say that there were differences. There were definite differences. And there were also differences between males and females that I observed in my parents as role models. My mother and father are certainly not equal in every respect as much as I would like to be considered an equal in my marriage.

Rebecca: In terms of education, no. I think there are different expectations for women. Even in my own household where I see, even though there are no sons. There is often times when you know, I know if there was a guy in the house things would be different. There are different expectations for us because we are girls and it's just there, even though we don't have a brother. And when my cousin comes over and stuff like that, my dad does treat him differently. So it is evident to me.

Anjali: I just recently had an argument with my mum. Because I am an engineer she thinks I should marry an engineer. Or like, you know, I can marry a boy who'll make less or have a less earning potential whereas my brother as an English major, (and I told her this)....if everyone had the same stereotypes as you do then no Indian family will let their daughter marry my brother, because he's not going to make very much money. And so in that respect she still holds some views that the husband should make at least as much. There is a double standard though with girls and boys. It is more readily acceptable that girls pursue Arts. My brother is an English major and my dad for the longest time wouldn't tell people what my brother was doing, and this is after he graduated because he was working in the service industry. My dad could not face it because he was supposed to be the dentist or whatever and he didn't live up to that doctor, lawyer, engineer, accountant stereotype.

Three of the participants knew of friends and acquaintances where the males in the family were treated differently to the females. Even Donny had to amend his earlier statements and agree that there was a bit of a double standard in the case of his curfew times and those of his older sister. His sister has to be home by 10:30 p.m. but he is

allowed to stay out later. However, his sister is allowed to stay out longer if he picks her up on his way home. Steve, one of the other participants, pressed Donny on the double standard in his family:

Steve: I thought you just said there's no double standard.

Donny: It's not a double standard where I am given one set of rules and she is given a different set of rules. It's more a double standard in the sense that my dad has little bit of the old thinking you know.

Steve: You are 12:30 and she is 10:30.

Donny: But that's it. It doesn't go any further than that. The double standard doesn't go any further. I guess that would be a small one, okay. But every other issue I guess no.

Donny believed that his father provided good reasons for this double standard especially when he said "it's just the way the community works." Another example came from Aladdin when she related the experience of a girlfriend who got married recently:

Aladdin: Our friend got married last year. We were 18. That was because she was a girl. Her father goes "oh you are 18 years old, you don't need an education. I'll marry you to this guy here. He's rich; he'll take care of you".

And from Anjali:

Anjali: I had a friend at school and she had an engineering degree and they (her parents) are like "Okay you are getting married in May long weekend of 1997 after you graduate. She's an engineer and he's (her father) like, no, you can't travel you are going to ruin your reputation. No one will want to marry you."

The male participants agreed that the double standard with women is probably the greatest negative aspect within the East Indian community. These were some of the comments from the men:

Miroslav: They don't treat the females properly.

Donny: That's true.

Steve: It's brutal. Just the way the girls are looked at in the East Indian community.

During the discussion the male participants expressed the same view as Anjali regarding the double standard for males. There was some consensus that males had to aspire to a higher standard of education and to sometimes be the sole income earner in a family. These traditional ways of thinking were hurting the younger generation of males. This is what was said:

Miroslav: The downfall for East Indian guys is, I think, you go to high school, you finish your high school, you go to university. Ideally you'd become a doctor by age 26. Ideally you'd marry into the family that your parents would love and ideally it is all set out. There is already a double standard when you are growing up with a male and I think that double standard takes over. For me it was never like that but I felt that along with the many positives about being a male there are also a lot of negatives.

B.P: The standard that was set for our family and I guess in our community is the male is supposed to work. The female is supposed to stay home....And that is hurting my brother so much. He has huge stress to make all the money to take care of his family, pay off the mortgage. [author note - *According to B.P., his brother's wife does want to work but both families do not wish her to work*].

Steve: People bring over these ideas. They don't give freedom to the women. They say - "Hey girls come to Canada but keep with the Indian mentality that they have in India." In our society you need two people working.

Among the male participants in this study, Donny agreed that he had sometimes received preferential treatment over his two sisters, primarily from his mother. His father was very careful about treating all three children the same and expected Donny to perform household chores just like his sisters. However, in Steve's case, his parents were not more lenient with him than they were with his sisters. As an example he mentioned that when he asked if he could bring a girlfriend over to the house they simply said "No. Because your sisters never brought any one over. You shouldn't." And

Miroslav felt that he had received as many lectures and reprimands as his sisters. Two of the other male participants had no sisters so could not speak to the matter from personal experience. All the participants were concerned about the double standard that is applied to males in the matter of being the sole provider for the family. This pressure was the cause of a great deal of stress for B.P.'s brother. The students all felt that the root of this stress was the traditional belief that the man should work outside the home and the woman stay home to look after the children.

Discussion

In Canada and the United States, second generation children, particularly the females, experience some of the same restrictions and codes of conduct as those endured by their counterparts in India. However, it is important to note that in India parents are also facing some of the same concerns that South Asian parents are facing in North America. The proliferation of western music and television has caused their children to become more "westernized." In fact in some cases they have become more westernized than their counterparts in North America have been allowed to become (DasGupta, 1997; DasGupta & Dasgupta, 1996a).

The complaint heard most often from women in Indo-Canadian communities is that their brothers are allowed to participate freely in activities such as sports, dating, dances, and political associations, just like their peers but despite being adults and in post-secondary institutions they are denied this participation by their parents and often the larger Indian community (Das Gupta, 1997; DasGupta & Dasgupta, 1996a). Often second generation Indian women are unable to pursue political and activist ambitions. They are not supported in their endeavours by their parents and more specifically by the males in the community. This difference in the treatment of males and females has led to a feeling of alienation for the women and a high rate of exogamy both in Canada and in the United States (DasGupta & Dasgupta, 1996a; Dasgupta, 1998). The students in the present study were confident that should they wish to participate in political, and social activities they would not be denied the participation by their parents. However, it is

important to note that some of the students (Malini, Aladdin, Donny, B.P. and Miroslav) had not tested their parents to see if they were actually as liberal as they said they were.

An awareness and rejection of the double standard of treatment for males and females is perhaps the greatest gift the second generation can pass on to their own children. The group of students in the present study were very much attuned to community values and expectations. Some of them had experienced the double standard of treatment, if not from their parents perhaps from family and community members. Even though the males had sometimes received favoured treatment from their parents, they acknowledged that such treatment was unfair to the females. None of the females had been subjected to the harsh behaviours described in the literature, although they had anecdotal evidence of these double standards being imposed on their friends in the Indo-Canadian community.

In contrast to some of the participants in the literature, who were not allowed to leave home to pursue further education, two of the women participants in this study were living on their own and studying in post-graduate programmes. One other female participant was selected after a rigorous competition to go overseas in the month of May to conduct research over a period of four months in her field of study. These three female students continued to pursue their studies with the blessing of their families. Gender issues with regard to education had not surfaced in the lives of the female participants. Five females in this study were in post-graduate studies and one was in medical school. The other two females were a few years younger than the other female participants. However, there was no indication that should they wish to pursue post-graduate schooling they would encounter any resistance from their parents.

The literature is quite clear on the matter of the preferential treatment that is accorded to the males in the Indo-Canadian community. Male children are valued more highly than female children. The father is also considered the figure of authority in the household. The literature also indicates that Indo-Canadian parents will allow their male children to date non-Indian women and become integrated into the social milieu of the host culture but will not allow their female children these same indulgences.

Indo-Canadian community leaders are aware that socializing their male and female children differently whilst living in North America is the precursor to the second generation feeling alienated from the culture. Articles in community newspapers and educational journals all recommend a more open and non-traditional approach to child raising. The following are some of the Resolutions from the South Asian Woman's List of Good Resolutions (Sen & Baldwin, 1999) which offer encouragement for second generation children who are chafing under restraints placed on them by their traditional parents:

1. I resolve not to betray my daughter into the arms of the patriarchy "for her own good."
2. I will not value a man based solely/primarily on his capacity as provider.
3. I will not cringe when stating that I make more than my husband.
4. I will not push my son towards a stereotypical career any more than I do my daughter.
5. I will understand the pain of a man trapped in an unhappy career because he is compelled to be the sole provider.

Influence of religion

Religion pervades every aspect of life in India. It is the basis for most social customs and community activities. Because religion plays such an integral part in the lives of people from India it has been both a "cohesive and a divisive force" (Taylor & Hegarty, 1985, p. 23). There are several different religions that dominate the South Asian culture. Along with the major religions of Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam, and Christianity (which included Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox Christians) there are other religions such as Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastism. The majority of Indo-Canadians belong to one of four religions: Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, and Christianity. Hindu temples, Muslim mosques, and Sikh gurdwaras can be found in most major cities in Canada. Although many Protestant and Catholic South Asians attend mainstream Canadian churches, some Indo-Canadian Christians have formed their own Christian

churches, similar to ones in India, where the congregation is primarily from the same part of India, speaks the same language and has the same cultural background.

All 13 participants in this study had previous connections to religion, some to a greater degree than others. Ten of the participants were occasional practitioners whilst three participants actively participated in the Islamic, Sikh and Christian faiths. This active participation for the Sikh and Muslim students included praying as often as required according to the tenets of the religion, complying with dress codes such as the wearing of a turban or hijab and the dietary restrictions of the religions and in the case of the Christian participant, going to church every Sunday. The students who were not active in their places of worship had several reasons for their non-participation. These were some of the comments they made to the question "Do you belong to an official religion?"

Anjali: No. I've read the Bhagvad Gita and I read other things but I don't subscribe to any religion at this time.

VS: And that's all right with your family?

Anjali: Well my father is anti-religion so he's very happy with this. My mum has never been fanatic or anything and my father has the dominant role. So we never had a shrine growing up. We grew up in small towns for most of my life so we never went to the temple because there wasn't any and when we lived in Calgary briefly, like my dad didn't go and so it wasn't an issue when my brother and I didn't want to go.

Anna: Actively, no. I am very lax. I took a minor in religion and I took it because I needed to see the validity in every other religion too. I am kind of the opposite because I see truth in every religion and when I was growing up I came from a typical lax Sikh family but I went to Catholic school so it just started from then.

Steve: I'd say I am an atheist. I don't believe in any religion. I went to Catholic schools.

VS: Was it difficult to be in Catholic schools, go to religion classes and be a Sikh?

Steve: My parents always stressed the more you learn the better it is. The more you are exposed to, the more open your mind is.

For the students that were sporadic practitioners, religious attendance was seen more as a social event where families gathered to meet other families from the same religious and ethnic backgrounds. It was used as an opportunity to learn and be exposed the religion and culture. Some students attended religious services on special occasions or when their families were invited to the temple or gurdwara as guests of other Indo-Canadian families. All the students of the Sikh faith had concerns about the politics that had arisen in some of the gurdwaras recently, particularly in British Columbia. Their parents too had distanced themselves from religious politics. These are some of their comments:

Aladdin: There are two gurdwaras we have in Millwoods. A really, really big one and a small one. My parents chose to go to the small one because the big one has too many politics and we do not go to church to follow politics. You have the news for it, the paper to follow politics, the radio to follow politics. You don't go to the gurdwara to follow politics.

Steve: After 1984 we stopped going to the gurdwara in St. Albert. We stopped going there because my parents didn't want to be associated with that kind of thinking. They just gave up because of the politics involved.

Discussions with the three students who were active practitioners of their religion suggested that they did not find their lives any different or more difficult because they went to regular religious services. Rebecca, the Christian student, belonged to a church that had been built by the congregation when her parents arrived from India over 25 years ago. All the members from the church came from the same part of India, so they felt part of a community that was both religious and ethnic. Being part of a religious minority was not considered a hardship for either the Muslim or Sikh student. Fathima, the Muslim student, commented:

Fathima: You have to make more of an effort, I think to be able to pray and fast and do everything. But, I don't really see it as an hindrance.

And from B.P.:

B.P.: I am baptised. I do not eat any meat. I am vegetarian. I believe in the religion completely 100%. I try to read from Guru Granth Sahib as much as possible. I believe totally. Religion is a part of my life.

Practising their religion in the Canadian milieu has not posed any problems for Fathima, Rebecca or B.P. The question of whether their religious practises are related to their ethnicity is not entirely clear. In the case of Rebecca, because her church and her ethnic community are so closely related, she may derive some of her ethnic identity through her practice of religion. B.P. considers himself an Indo-Canadian primarily because of his religion. When he was younger he used to call himself 'Canadian' but after a recent trip to India and his new-born interest in Indian culture and his commitment to his religion, his identity as an Indo-Canadian has been firmly established. Even though Fathima's parents do not practice their religion as fervently as she does, they support her choice of wearing hijab, and following the other tenets of Islam very conscientiously. Her more devoted practice of the religion has only occurred over the past three years. Although Fathima's religion governs her lifestyle, where even her choice of spouse will be from the Islamic faith, she sees herself as a Canadian and not as an Indo-Canadian.

Discussion

As with many first generation immigrants, some of the parents of the second generation students in this study faced obstacles as they tried to build religious communities and places of worship. In India, because social customs, political and educational institutions, workplaces and business arenas, markets, restaurants and shops all operate on the tenets of either the Muslim or Hindu religion it is not difficult to be an active religious participant. For people of the Islamic faith it is not difficult to follow dietary rules because numerous markets and restaurants offer produce and foods for these practitioners. As well, many workplaces have areas set up so employees can pray during the specified times of the day. Some places of work allow employees to leave

early on Fridays to attend prayers at local mosques and also allow the employees to observe Ramadan (a time of fasting). The same can be said for Hindus, many of whom are vegetarians and who observe and practice certain rituals required of the religion.

However, because Canada is a secular society, followers of the Islamic and Hindu religions have had to make some changes to their religious practices. For this reason, often first generation families became less stringent and changed and/or adapted some of the rituals to accommodate living in Canadian society. These adaptations made it inevitable that second generation Indo-Canadians would be brought up in less rigid religious circumstances.

The connection to religion was considered more important to some participants than to others. Even though they did not actively participate in religious practices, they thought it was important to belong to a religious group; the participants placed importance on the teaching of the family religion to their future children. There is no doubt that the level of participation of the parents in religious activities had some influence on their children's level of participation. Even though there is no shortage of places of worship for persons from the major religions, parents of second generation children find it difficult to teach the precepts of their religion in the ways in which they learned them. The words of a parent accurately describe how many parents feel with regard to transmission of religious beliefs:

> We occasionally bring the children to the Hindu temple, but despite our explaining what's going on they think it is all very strange. They have some general idea about our private devotional practices at home, but it's clear that they know far more about Christianity than they do about Hinduism. I think that this is a great loss, but don't know what to do. I have looked at some available books on Hinduism but I don't understand the religion in the way that it's presented there. Many other parents here share my concern. (Buchignani, Indra, & Srivastava, 1985, p. 191)

These sentiments would not apply in the case of Fathima who has chosen to practise her religion to a degree higher than that of her parents. However, for Fathima it is more a matter of following the religion as she believes is laid out in the Koran than being stymied by societal and other cultural and community obstacles.

Multiculturalism and multicultural educational experiences

Two participants had attended private schools in elementary (one until grade 2) and junior high school, but moved into the public school system for high school. The other 11 participants had attended either Catholic or public schools. Two students had attended school in British Columbia and two in Ontario. Four participants had completed undergraduate degrees in provinces other than Alberta.

Because Canada has instituted a policy of multiculturalism and because as discussed in the literature there are several voices being raised both for and against official multiculturalism, I was interested in finding out if the education received and the social educational experiences in both school and post-secondary school had been positive or negative for the students. Unfortunately, due to time constraints, three of the participants from the female focus group (Anna, Sue and Anjali) had to leave the interview early. However, since reference had been made earlier in the interview with regard to experiences in a post-secondary situation the participants had been able to respond to those questions.

I asked the students about their experiences on campus. In particular I asked them to comment on inter-racial interactions. Here are some of their comments:

Miroslav: University is a lot different. People stick within themselves. You do what you want to do. I remember in my first year there was a Muslim thing going on in CAB. It was like Heritage Days, mostly Lebanese. This guy walked in and said some racial stuff. I looked back and there were a lot of people chasing that guy out. But that's the only time I've ever seen stuff like that. Besides that, I think when you go to university people are more in tune with themselves.

Donny: They mature.

Sue: I'd say it's too cliquey, too ghettoised. As far as involving other people and teaching other people about ethnic things, I think the best way to do that is by spreading us all around.

This is what the respondents said when asked how they felt in classes as a member of a small visible minority:

Malini: Like my English class, I was the only non-white person. It's no big deal.

Anna: I am in Arts, so there are very few East Indians in Arts. I think they are all concentrated in Sciences and Engineering. When I started here even in Poli.Sci there were very few East Indians. So then when I did Genetics that's when I made my East Indian connections.

Anna had also had no negative feelings or experiences on being one of a small number of visible minority students in a class.

I also asked the students whether schools and universities should offer multicultural courses and programmes so that students could learn about other cultures. The students had this to say:

Paula: I think it's one of the things that makes Canada unique and one of the things that I associate with being Canadian that's different from associating myself with an East Indian or any other nationality. And, because there is such a multicultural diversity within Canada inevitably students are going to be exposed to the different cultures around them and the friends that they have will be of different backgrounds. So there is an education through experience, but I think it would be a good idea to have some sort of formal instruction or have it be a branch of Social Studies.

Fathima: I think the introduction at least, I think it should be done at an earlier age when children are learning and when they meet different people who may not be the same as them and that's the time to allow them to start understanding. To get them to be aware of different beliefs.

Rebecca: Actually when I was in junior high I had an East Indian vice principal who really promoted multiculturalism and multicultural week and there were all sorts of activities throughout the year that were geared towards multiculturalism. So I thought that was a really great experience and it really made our school very, very appreciative of culture. Yes, I do think it is necessary. I think when you are living in a country that is so ethnically diverse it's really important to have those opportunities available to people because if you do have those opportunities to learn then it makes the country a more accepting place. I think if people knew more things about India and how diverse and how different it is in every part of India then I think that lumping or that stereotyping or that racism would not be as evident or prevalent.

Kumar: I think they try already. I think the focus of much of what you learn about your own identity, as far as where you are from, has to do, in our school system, with Canadian history and then you learn selected pieces of other culture. Because the things you need to know to get by in Canadian society

are more along the lines of Canadian culture and Canadian history, law, whatever you need to fit in with this culture. As far as whether something should be done to reinforce the identity of minorities in the class I am not sure that would be a worthwhile venture on the part of the schools. As it is, the way it's done I am not sure it contributes anything. I mean another important aspect of it is how does it contribute to the non-ethnic students who comprise the majority to learn about minorities. I think it promotes understanding. I think a lot of white people just have no idea what it's like. It's not even that they have preconceptions. They may form some preconceptions based on some loose interpretations on what they have seen or heard but nothing concrete and I think it would be beneficial.

Some of the participants indicated that at some time during their school years they had been subjected to small amounts of racial name calling. Words such as "oreo" and "Paki" had been addressed to two participants. Some of these epithets had been thrown whilst the participants were at school and some while they were out in the community. The participant (Steve) who had been called "Paki" indicated that he and his friends boycotted a local store after he was called the racial slur. He believes that the store lost business and finally closed because many of his friends and acquaintances refused to support the store. Another participant (B.P.) had been called a racial slur when he was very young. In his words

B.P.: I was so young I didn't know. I was just looking at him weird. I didn't know what was his problem. Now that I think about it I guess it is his own problem.

Fortunately, the overall experiences of the participants in school had been positive. One student (Fathima) considered it lucky that she had not been subjected to racial prejudices. However, it is not clear whether it was entirely luck or the personalities of the students themselves that caused their experiences in school to be positive. The words of Rebecca are a good indication of how she feels ethnic minorities can have positive experiences in school.

Rebecca: I was very well integrated into the school and I was very active in the school so everyone knew who I was. Kids who didn't really intermingle that much and kind of stuck with their own ethnic background did get a lot more abuse

> or racist comments directed towards them than I did. And I can honestly say that I don't remember an incident ever when I was in school that anyone had said anything to me.

Discussion

The relatively easy transition from school to a post secondary institution for the participants of this study does not mean that all second generation Indo-Canadian students will have a similar experience. There is enough anecdotal evidence and research that indicates that the experiences of these 13 students are not those of many students. The experiences of the participants in studies conducted in the United States (Das Gupta, 1997; Singhal, 1997) and Great Britain (Ghuman, 1991 & 1997) wherein they experienced racism or were called names such as "chocolate milk" and "burnt cookie" (Singhal, 1997, p. 109) were not the same as the participants in the present study.

A multicultural education was considered important by the participants. The literature, primarily based in the United States, where second generation and ethnic minorities and community leaders have demanded an education system that recruited ethnic minority students through quotas, hired ethnic minority instructors, provided scholarships and entrance exams that took into account minority students' native languages, prior education and family background, did not seem to concur with the participants' views on how a multicultural education should be offered in Canada.

When I asked about courses that related to other cultures and languages, the students knew that courses on different languages, cultures and religions such as East Asian Studies and Religious studies were offered through some faculties. As opposed to the individuals described in the literature, the participants in the present study did not feel that they were denied opportunities to study about South Asian history and culture. To the students to whom I posed the question (all except Anjali, Anna, and Sue) there was no strong feeling as to whether the instructors of these courses should belong to the culture or religion of the course being taught. However, it was important to these students that the instructor be well qualified and an expert in the field.

In the school arena, again, there was an acknowledgement that learning about cultures was important. However, according to Aladdin, this education:

> Aladdin: Should be more about what people have done, not necessarily reflect each culture. One culture will have more people that were significant to the development of an historical event. I have never studied about Mother Theresa. I've never studied about Mahatma Gandhi. I've never studied about Martin Luther King. I know their names because they appear in the media.

There was also some feeling that because of the many different cultures in a school system it would be difficult to offer courses that would satisfy every culture. In junior high school the students had studied, albeit superficially, the Chinese, Japanese, Sikhs, and Italians. "Just bits and pieces" was how Malini described it. It gave the students a very brief general overview of some of the cultures that had become established in Canada. It was left up to the students to follow up with further readings on their own. The students recognized that courses such as social studies in school would have an Anglo focus. However, contrary to a study conducted in Lloydminster with South Asian families (Abraham, 1980) who felt that their children were being short-changed in school by teachers and administrators who were culturally unaware of the Indian culture and its traditions, these students had experienced no negative or outward expressions of racism from their teachers and administrators. One reason for not receiving any negative treatment was given by Fathima, who actively practised her religion in school. Even if the teachers felt it "I don't think they would say if they really had some problems. I don't think they would say anything."

The need for education to become more multicultural in its focus cannot be denied. Despite the views of its opponents, to be effective, multicultural education should be considered as more than a few courses, or celebration of cultural events in a school or university. It should be inclusive education and not education for only ethnic minority students. The models for education for minority American students in the United States as proposed by Nunez (1971), Chavarria (1971), and Forbes (1971) would not be considered multicultural education in the Canadian context. It would be

education geared specifically for minority students and would not fit the Banks (1997) model of inclusivity. It is extremely important for educational programme designers and implementers to take into account the views of students such as those in this study. In other words, education in school and university should teach a student about diversity and respect for people of all cultures and religions.

Despite a federal government policy on multiculturalism, there is no official policy on multicultural education. For this reason, despite the good intentions of school boards and teachers, efforts at multicultural education often get short shrift because of other demands on teachers. If multicultural education were like a thread woven through the study of all subjects where "the curriculum is transformed and students study historical, social, artistic and literary events and concepts from several ethnic, cultural and gender perspectives" (Banks, 1997, p. 17) then ethnic minorities and persons from the host culture could learn about events from each others' perspectives.

Offering students the opportunity to learn about historical and contemporary events from several perspectives should be the goal of multicultural education. To date most curricula have provided only mainstream points of view. With the diversity of cultures in our educational institutions today, it is important for both the host culture and ethnic minority cultures to gain an understanding of each other and of themselves. This can best be achieved by following the tenet that "education should deal with the total experience of humankind" (Banks, 1997, p. 27). However, the dilemma faced by Johnston (1997) in selecting and teaching with multicultural texts that presented varied cultural situations, is very real and requires serious consideration.

The literature on multiculturalism clearly puts forward the goal of integration for ethnic minorities. While the opponents of the government's multiculturalism policy believe that the opportunity to produce more hyphenated Canadians is ripe, its proponents offer evidence of the success of the policy. The participants in this study were all born in Canada and for the majority of them the nationality by which they describe themselves is Canadian. The students who chose to call themselves Indo-Canadian felt a connection to India that could be considered equal to their connection to

Canada. They did not wish to be in a position where they had to choose one culture over the other. These hyphenated Canadian students also believed that by attaching the "Indo" label to their Canadian nationality they were not completely giving up their roots. The degree of ethnic connectedness to the ethnic community bears out the research done by Kalbach and Kalbach (1995) who found that the younger the age of immigration, the greater the likelihood of weakened cultural ties to the ethnic community.

Marriage

Marriage in India is a union of families rather than the union of two persons alone. The majority of marriages among South Asians are arranged. In India, a marriage can be arranged through official marriage brokers or through advertisements in local newspapers or through "word of mouth" and family arrangements. Traditional families arrange marriages within their own caste and religion. In some traditional families the parties may meet each other for the first time on their wedding day. In less traditional families the young couple are allowed to meet, either chaperoned or unchaperoned, for a period of courtship before the marriage (Menon, 1989, p. 180). In Canada, many South Asians continue the tradition of arranged marriages for their children. However, most parents do not impose the more traditional approaches, rather they allow their children to choose their partners, albeit with their consent and direction. Unlike their parents, most second generation Indo-Canadians are not concerned with caste and they sometimes ignore religion when considering a marriage partner.

When the question of marriage was raised in the interviews there was no consensus of opinion. All of the students agreed that arranged marriages were the norm in Indo-Canadian society and some of the students were more willing to accept an arranged marriage than others. It was particularly interesting that the majority of male participants were more open to the idea of an arranged marriage than many of the females. The following are some of the comments:

Anjali: My mum always said - you are never having an arranged marriage. I'll introduce you to boys if you want but I'd like you to date them and get to

know them for experience.

VS: But anybody of any race would be fine?

Anjali: No problem. I've brought home all sorts of colours. Not a problem.

VS: And you feel the same way as well?

Anjali: My mum was a problem because I have never met an Indian boy that I would date and I have a stereotype that I wouldn't marry an Indian boy.

Sue: I said that too. I had never gone out with an Indian person before. I had never even thought about it because my family was so different. My background was so different I just couldn't find anyone I could remotely relate to... I ended up meeting somebody who also grew up in a small town who also, didn't grow up around Indian people and we just found out we had so much in common. So that's kind of what happened here. But my parents also they don't have any preference.

VS: You weren't going to get an arranged marriage?

Sue: My mum if anything, she probably would have preferred that we marry not Indian, at least not Punjabi people. And the reason was that she thought that we wouldn't be respected in the family or treated as equals.

Anjali: By his family?

Sue: By his family. She didn't want either myself or my sister to join a family where we would be...

Anjali: Cooking roti (*a type of Indian bread*) and staying at home.

Sue: And that led her to sort of almost want us to marry white men. And that was kind of interesting.

Anjali: My mother's always wanted I guess Indian. Canadian born or American. Someone not straight from India.

Aladdin discussed the kind of arranged marriage a friend had, where the couple found it difficult to get to know each other because the mother was always around as a chaperone.

Aladdin: My dad says - that's not the kind of arranged marriage I want for my kid.

He goes - you should go out with them. Date them but not like for a year or so. Get to know them. Okay then you are thinking about it, yes. I am not going to have an arranged marriage from a picture.

And from Malini a clarification on the type of arranged marriage that most second generation children will settle for.

Malini: It's not what people think of as a typical arranged marriage. I think if it ever did happen, it would be like through a family connection. I talked to my cousin and she is like, I know so and so and he is perfect for you. It would be more of a matchmaking thing rather than an arranged marriage. I'd be able to say no. My parents even say- we don't want you married off to some guy in India. And I personally wouldn't want that either. Because I'd be, like, are you marrying me or because you want to move to Canada.

This point of view was borne out by Rebecca who is at the present time contemplating what could be considered an arranged marriage with a man from the United States. This man was recommended through a relative and they have met each other and dated a few times. Rebecca is very comfortable with this approach to choosing a partner. Having a participant who is going through the process encouraged me to delve further into this matter. It was Rebecca's contention that even though she had friends from all nationalities, some people had a difficult time "wrapping their minds around the way we do things."

VS: Like what?

Rebecca: For instance there is an issue that came up just recently with one of my friends and I about arranged marriages. I had considered the possibility and she was absolutely horrified at the thought and for me it's not a foreign concept. But for her to wrap her mind around the fact that my parents would actually know enough about me to set me up with a guy she just thought that was weird and couldn't understand why I would want to do something like that.

Rebecca's friends aren't the only ones who find the concept of an arranged marriage unappealing. Her two younger sisters have also completely rejected the idea. However, according to Rebecca, her sisters understand the cultural perspective behind arranged marriages, they just don't wish to allow their parents to have "anything to do with any part of their lives. They just like that control of it."

In Rebecca's case, however, she indicated that she is feeling some pressure to commit to this relationship, primarily because her parents are very excited about it. Upon my further questioning about the protocol in this situation, this was her response:

VS: He knew what his role was? He knew why he called you?

Rebecca: Yes. We both know that this may lead to marriage. We both know we have to check out every single detail to know are we suited for each other and I am not completely convinced of that yet. It was a very relaxed sort of environment where we are both saying, you know, if this doesn't work out, it's okay, it is not the end of the world.

All the participants had indicated that their parents were not going to force them into arranged marriages without their consent. As well, all the participants were in agreement that their parents would prefer them to marry someone who was of East Indian heritage although Sue had married a person of her own choice albeit an Indo-Canadian. Some parents had also raised concerns with regard to caste and inter-religious marriages. The participants who were amenable to an arranged marriage and continued to have a connection to their religion, however tenuous, also believed that it was important to marry someone from the same religion. The issue of caste was considered to be one of the major weaknesses in Indian culture and also a hurdle that some of the participants had to overcome. Some of the participants indicated that even though their parents brought up the subject of caste in the list of criteria for choice of mate, they thought it was an out-dated aspect of the culture and would not be willing to consider it when selecting a spouse.

One of the more interesting parts of the discussion on marriage was the fact that some of the male participants had been socialized into thinking that an arranged marriage was inevitable. In fact, even though the female participants were open to the idea of an arranged marriage they had not discarded the possibility of a love marriage. These were some of the comments from the male participants:

B.P.: I am expecting to be arranged....

Donny: I know it will be arranged. So accept the fact and move on with life, that's

all I say, you know. If you know it, don't be complaining about it. I complain and then I say accept the fact you are born into a culture. If you want to change it then lose all the ways. Completely rebel if you are going to do it. Choose one or the other. You can't be a fence sitter. You cannot be in the middle. No. You have to choose one or the other. That's the way it works.

VS: But you will have some say?

Donny: Oh yeah. We've discussed this already with my parents. They brought it up. Surprised the hell out of me you know. But my dad's told me what he is looking for. Educated girls.

Other than one male participant (Steve) who had previously thought that he would only marry a white woman, but has now revised his way of thinking after having recently travelled to India and met many very modern, independent women, and another (Kumar) who was concerned about stereotyping young Indian males and females, all the other participants were very sure that they would prefer to choose a mate from either Canada, the United States or Europe. There was a strong feeling that males and females who were born and brought up outside of India had a different way of looking at things. However, in keeping with the research done by DasGupta and Dasgupta (1996a) the female participants believed that Indo-Canadian men were lacking in several respects. These were some of their comments:

Anjali: Even my brother. He had an Indian friend and he's like, don't ever marry an Indian guy. They are all mama's boys. The bottom line is they always bow down to the mom typically.

Aladdin: Like the mentality of a guy is very immature right now. It's very immature. You can't even have a conversation with a brown guy.

Malini: I am only in first year. The people I've seen...are really, like, retarded. And I am not joking.

Anajli: They are one dimensional.

Anna: They carry on the same conversation with me.

and finally some words of wisdom from Sue:

Sue: You know what. I am probably older than most if not all of you. It took a long time to meet one.

It is inevitable that second generation Indo-Canadians become acculturated and adopt many Canadian values and customs. As opposed to their parents who are more concerned with family status, religion, and caste, second generation young people have a different set of criteria when they are considering a spouse. Because most of the participants in this study had a high level of education, the education of the prospective spouse was an important consideration. For the females it was important to find a spouse that would support them in their educational and career endeavours and who was also on a career path that gave him satisfaction and opportunities for further education. Their words are self-explanatory:

Paula: I am actually in a relationship right now. But it's really hard to actually decide a time line for accomplishing all of my life goals that I would like, especially in today's age where it is so much harder to find a job. If you want to be involved in a professional career there is a lot of training that is required and a career takes up a lot of time and dedication. So, I am finding it challenging with career, with school, and at the same time there is the concern that I am not getting any younger. In my mind a marriage is an equal partnership. So, I would expect that whether my husband is East Indian or not that he would participate in household duties, in child raising, and would respect the fact that most of my life has been centred around education and working towards a professional career and that is a big part of my life as much as it would be of their life and recognize the need for me to have a life, outside of home as well.

Rebecca: I want him to be someone who is intelligent, which is far more important to me [than having degrees]. Someone who can carry a conversation about anything, which is what I can do. So, fairly knowledgeable. Not narrow minded. Open minded but also someone who is very hard working. I think as long as the household responsibilities are divided equally then it's okay.

Fathima: It is important insofar as I want them to have done something more than just high school. But it's not really, they need to enjoy what they are doing. They need to seek out further education in their area. It even doesn't have

to be like a doctor or lawyer or anything like that.

Discussion

As a person of South Asian heritage, albeit someone who is on the fringes of the Indo-Canadian culture, I found the discussion on marriage both surprising and enlightening. My own marriage to a person outside the culture having occurred with the blessings of my parents given without any hesitation, and similar marriages of friends and acquaintances that were not received as warmly, made me realize how much significance is placed by the first generation on inter-cultural marriage. Once again it is important to emphasize that the females in this study cannot be considered to be typical of all Indo-Canadian females. However, their ideas and opinions on the Indo-Canadian culture should be given some recognition within the Indo-Canadian community. All of the males in the study had given some thought to their futures and even though they were still too young to consider marriage, they were aware of the family expectations and their duty to the family and the culture. As the literature had suggested (DasGupta & Dasgupta, 1996a) the males were more willing to conform to community and family norms than the females.

In Indo-Canadian families, marrying off the second generation can be a situation where the parents and children either agree or completely disagree on the process. Research and anecdotal evidence from community members, community leaders, and first and second generation persons, indicate the need for compromise and understanding between the generations. The second generation, having become acculturated and integrated into Canadian society, wishes to live and choose mates in ways closer to but not identical to the mainstream approach. Even though they may be willing to opt for an arranged marriage over a love match, they wish to retain some control over the selection process. For the first generation to continue with traditions which are now being abandoned in India, to be replaced with more modern rituals and customs, is to yearn for a homeland and its culture that is impossible to replicate in Canada. The parents of the students in this study appear to be open to a flexible

approach, and indeed, many appear supportive of a break with tradition.

The participants in this study as described in the literature will either have the type of arranged marriage that is becoming more common in western society, in which young men and women are given a considerable amount of latitude when choosing a spouse or will choose their own spouses, most likely but not exclusively from the Indo-Canadian community. The literature suggests that first and second generation Indo-Canadians are changing the patterns for selection of a spouse. The students in this study reflect the trend identified in the literature in that they wished to have an important part in the decision making process. There was also agreement that they did not consider caste an issue in the selection process. However, many of the participants wished to marry persons from the same religion, a fact which parallelled the findings in the literature.

The second generation students are willing to maintain some of the traditions and values of their parents' culture but also they also wish to acquire some of the traditions of the culture they have been born into and in some areas to start some of their own traditions. For the generations to live together in harmony it is necessary for the first generation to respect the beliefs and wishes of their children and to try to adapt to the cultural changes of the new culture. These poignant words from a second generation Indo-American echo the sentiments of the participants and other second generation Indo-Canadians:

> We need to remember that our parents came to the United States primarily for economic prosperity, not for a change in culture or mentality. In turn, our parents, as first generation immigrants, need to understand that there is a price to be paid for raising children in a society that encourages independence, professional success in all fields (not only medicine and law) and especially the freedom for us to choose whom we wish to marry regardless of race or religion. (Shah, 1998, p. 20)

What does the future hold for the Indo-Canadian culture?

The future of the Indian culture in Canada is in the hands of the second generation. The majority of second generation children consider English to be their first

language and some have lost or have only a perfunctory knowledge of their parents' mother tongue. Adherence to religious rituals is also not as strict or rigid among second generation young people. Despite the loss of these components of the culture, second generation children do place a high value on some aspects of Indian culture.

The 13 participants of this study were in strong agreement about their interest and desire to learn more about Indian culture. Some had read the major Indian mythologies such as the Mahabaratha and the Ramayana and the Hindu religious book called the Bhagavad Gita. Others had read books about life in India written by transplanted Indian authors, such as Rohinton Mistry and Vikram Seth. The participants listen to Indian music, watch Indian movies, and read magazines, such as *India Today*, which come directly from India. One participant (Anjali) takes lessons in classical Bharatnatyam Indian dancing. Another (Anna) goes back to India to learn as much as possible about the art, culture, folk art and literature.

Some of the students have also attended Indian style parties where typical bhangra music is played. Bhangra is a type of Punjabi folk music that has been adapted to retain the traditional lyrics but also to incorporate the rhythm and beat of western rock music. Bhangra has become popular in Great Britain, the United States and Canada in cities where there are significant numbers of South Asians. The musicians use some of the traditional musical instruments as well as electric keyboards, guitars and synthesizers. Bennett (1997) in his research on British bhangra concluded that this blended style of music "functions as a vehicle via which young Asians of differing religious and cultural backgrounds are able to overcome their own particular differences thus forging a common form of identity in order to symbolically counteract the marginalization, exclusion and hostility to which they are often subject in Britain" (p. 2). Another writer, Gilroy (1993), believes that "the main significance of bhangra relates to the way in which it acts as a medium for Asian youth to effectively reinvent their own ethnicity" (in Bennett, p. 82, 1997). Several of the participants in this study had attended bhangra parties in the city. They indicated that the parties were frequented by people from different cultures. It was not uncommon to see young oriental and white

people at the parties. When asked why they attended such events the students said that the music was good and it was an enjoyable way to spend an evening dancing. They did not offer reasons that could be related to ethnic identity or culture as described by Bennett (1997) and Gilroy (1993). One student (Miroslav), when asked by me for further information and clarification on bhangra music indicated that bhangra parties should not be viewed as a cultural activity. If a person wished to witness an authentic bhangra dance then community social events, weddings, and dance recitals were the places to attend.

Despite the obvious integration into Canadian culture, the students have held on to some Indian customs and traditions. How long they will continue to do so and whether, like the bhangra, they will further change some of their traditions when they have their own families is not a question with an easy answer. When asked if they planned to continue with Indian traditions once they were married and had children, these were some of their comments:

Fathima: I think I would still like my kids to know where their parents or grandparents came from and I mean I love the culture, I love the food, everything. This is part of who we are and I'd like my children to know about that.

Rebecca: I think so. I think the ones that really are important to me, I'll filter down to my kids as well.

Paula: I certainly hope so. I recognize that it will be more difficult for them than it is for me. Sometimes I feel it is difficult for me as far as I don't completely have a solid grounding in identifying with the East Indian culture as much as I would like to. And so, if I happen to marry somebody who is not an East Indian it will be even more difficult but I certainly would like to encourage that they do try and find out about their culture and learn to speak a language, have them be in contact with my relatives more so than I have been. But understandably it will likely be difficult because of one generation further down the line.

Kumar: Yes, I think so. I think I would encourage my children. I mean eventually all people look for their roots somehow whether they are encouraged or

not, and it is easier when you have an avenue to do it. This is where parents come in, to provide the avenue.

Discussion

There was a consensus of opinions during this study that the students wished to incorporate some aspects of Indian culture into their lives. At the present time these students conduct their lives like most of their peers. Some of the students acknowledge that they will practise endogamy and others have left the possibility of a marriage with a non-Indian person as a definite alternative. The practise of endogamy for the second generation makes the continuation of the traditions and customs easier for the community at large. However, the thinking of the participants in this study indicates that they would prefer to hold on to some of these traditions more symbolically than behaviourally. If the second and third generations of Indo-Canadians continue to integrate into Canadian culture and practise fewer traditional rituals it is inevitable that the culture will become "diluted" and "watered down" as it progresses through the generations.

The interviews conducted during this study show that there are several differences and similarities in the beliefs and philosophy of the male and female participants. The female participants were more acculturated into Canadian society than the males. The majority of males however, preferred not to immerse themselves completely into Canadian society and kept as their primary friends people of South Asian heritage. On the question of marriage a higher percentage of the females than males were willing to consider marriage outside the Indian culture. The students who were occasional practitioners of their religion appeared to have similar opinions on the subject of religion. They were also of the same mind on the question of community involvement, the caste system, arranged marriages and gender differences.

The participants in this study are committed to keeping the culture alive and flourishing albeit in ways that they can adapt to their own lives as Canadians or Indo-Canadians. This may not be in accordance with their parents' wishes but it could be

considered as a "made in Canada" response to the question of furtherance and practice of the traditional Indo-Canadian culture.

CHAPTER 4
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined how second generation Indo-Canadian students perceive themselves in relation to Canadian culture. Since these students were born and educated in Canada and are in constant contact with the host culture, but also have ties to their native heritage through family and community associations, it was important to understand how they perceive themselves. My own unscientific observations at the university seemed to indicate that Indo-Canadian students wished to remain ethnically separate, thus having as their primary friendships only students of Indo-Canadian heritage. This could have been an indication that the students were not completely acculturated into the Canadian milieu or it could be that the students after weighing several options had chosen to live their lives in a particular manner. These observations were proven to be not entirely correct after the study was completed. In fact I found that second generation Indo-Canadian students could not be easily classified into groups labelled "integrated" or "non-integrated." It is instead better to see these students as being adept at functioning very ably in several social milieus. The 7 female and 5 male students who participated in this study often had similar opinions to those found in the literature and at other times differed strongly with the existing research.

In this chapter I summarize the findings and connect the themes that arose. I will also offer recommendations for future research and policy changes.

Whether people define themselves as Canadian or Indo-Canadian is often a good indicator of where their allegiance lies in matters of identity. This question of identity is moot for persons born into and belonging to the country's dominant culture. However, for immigrants and their children, who are considered second generation ethnics, and who are born in a country where the dominant culture is different from their own native culture, the question of choosing an identity becomes preeminent. Second generation children have the more difficult task of either choosing their parents' heritage as their own, accepting the heritage of the culture they have been born into, or trying to straddle

the two. Making the choice of identity is often not easy for second generation young people.

Ethnic identity refers to the connection that an individual feels to his or her native culture. How an individual displays this connection is indicative of how strong the connection is. Researchers of ethnic identity (e.g., Phinney, 1990; Driedger, 1989; Berry et al., 1989) agree that an association and attachment to the larger group helps first and second generation persons to conduct their lives as minority members of the dominant host society. By participating actively in minority groups, they can reduce the significant sense of isolation that might be felt if there is no ethnic group structure in the community. The attachment to the mother group is weaker with each generation as acculturation increases. Often persons from the first generation become acculturated into the host culture after studying, working, and participating in the social life of the host community. They do not break the ties to their ethnic community but learn to juggle the cultural demands of each community. They hold on to some aspects of the ethnic culture such as religion, food, language (used only in certain settings) and traditions. They also learn the language of the host culture and use it in their interactions with the host community, and they raise their children to function as participating members of the host culture.

The data obtained in this study indicate that the parents of the students had integrated sufficiently into Canadian culture that they had let go of some of the traditions and beliefs that they had been raised with. These data also suggest that if the first generation chooses to hold on to some of the traditions but does not enforce them with the second generation, the result would be a high degree of acculturation for the second generation. The level of integration of the parents of the student participants was not the same across all individuals. In some cases one parent (often the father) was more integrated and influenced the thinking of the other parent in matters that related to child raising. In some cases it was the mother that ensured that the children were not forced into accepting the cultural norms of the community. This allowed the children to grow up in the community with their peers who were not always Indo-Canadian. When they

were old enough to decide on their choice of ethnic identity the exercise was not a traumatic one or one that was forced on them. As for the participants that did not identify themselves as Indo-Canadian or East Indian it should be noted that they were inclined towards their ethnic backgrounds in different ways that could be considered "symbolic" (Gans, 1979) but not as strongly as those who identified themselves as Indo-Canadian or East Indian. No direct question as to the importance of ethnic identity was asked to the participants so no conclusions can be drawn.

The influences exerted over the second generation participants in this study were definitely apparent. These data confirm that Indo-Canadian families are similar to families in India in the arenas of ethnic traditions and customs such as marriage and issues related to females. The participants constantly acknowledged that their parents practised certain Indian customs and traditions and encouraged the children to do the same. Some of the participants maintained some of these traditions and practices because their parents continued to do so but also because they had seen some value in them. All of the participants were aware that if they did not work at keeping these traditions and customs they would inevitably be lost and none wished this to occur. In that some of the participants did not identify themselves in ethnic terms but showed a high level of cultural attachment to their parents' native culture in the areas of religion, choice of marriage partner, friendships and foods, it is difficult to conclude if a "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans, 1979) exists or ethnicity at a deeper level.

It was evident that the level of acculturation of the first generation played a large part over the level of influence exerted over the second generation. The levels of education and length of stay in Canada may play some part on the degree of acculturation of the parents although it is not clear how much. There is also evidence that of the two parents, the father, who is often more acculturated than the mother, played a dominant role in some of the participants' families, and was the main authority figure, thus raising the level of acculturation for the mother and the children.

The roles of gender and that of endogamous marriage play a significant part in the lives of second generation Indo-Canadians. In this area, it is the level of

acculturation of the parents and their attachment to and identification with the local ethnic community that governs their approach to gender and marriage issues. There is some evidence that the lower the level of acculturation the higher the attachment to the ethnic community, the greater the degree of emphasis that is placed on issues that govern the lives of females. The issue of gender is related primarily to the concept of independence for females being different to that of males, and how marriage partners are chosen by both males and females. In these matters, the findings were not entirely conclusive. However, there is sufficient data to conclude that the majority of the participants were willing to acquiesce to the wishes of their parents and participate in endogamous marriages, preferably with persons from the same religion. Although the role of the parents is significantly reduced in Indo-Canadian families in matters of marriage compared to parents in India, the findings indicate that the children are willing to let their parents influence their choice of marriage partner. However, the final decision for choice of partner is made by the children.

- The findings on the independence of females are again not conclusive. There is concrete evidence that in some families females are allowed independence and are encouraged to be as self-reliant as males. However, the findings also indicate that some families subscribe to a double standard between male and female siblings. On the one hand, some participants, primarily the females, came from families with a medium to high level of acculturation that encouraged independence, which resulted in the children being willing to consider an exogamous marriage; but on the other hand, despite a medium to high level of acculturation of the parents, the children, particularly males, were expecting to practise endogamy and in some instances were willing to accept the double standard applied to their sisters.

The obvious high level of integration of the second generation participants into Canadian culture was evident in the responses to questions about multiculturalism and multicultural education. The data showed that the students believe that multiculturalism adds a dimension to Canada not found in other countries. The spillover of this policy into the arena of education also benefited minority students. Much of the literature

focuses on multicultural education for minority students, primarily the blacks and Hispanics in the United States and blacks and other minorities such as South Asians and West Indians in Great Britain. Even though the research relates to second and third generation persons, it is difficult to apply that research to this particular study. There is a significant difference between the immigrant landscapes in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada. Even though the research was conducted on campuses with second generation students, the student participants referred to themselves as minority students. None of the students in this study fit the profile of students in other research. The participants in the present study all came from stable middle class backgrounds, with parents who had, on average, post secondary education, had no host language problems, and had no negative experiences through their school and university years. Despite the satisfactory experiences of these students in the education system, the inclusion of multicultural education of some level in the school curriculum should be seriously considered. All of the participants were in favour of a higher profile given to courses on other cultures and religions, but not to the extent recommended in the literature (Abraham, 1980; Nunez, 1971; Forbes, 1971; Chavarria, 1971; Smith, 1971). The multicultural education to be offered in schools and universities envisioned by the participants would also include teacher and administrative personnel training along with a curriculum that reflected the varied landscape of cultural minorities in Canadian schools.

The participants of this study belonged to four religions, namely Christianity, Sikhism, Hinduism, and Islam. The findings indicate that the practice, casual practice, or non-practice of religion was not connected to identification with the ethnic culture. Even though all of the participants identified to some degree with the native culture, only three of the participants were conscientious practitioners. However, even the occasional practitioners were willing to consider as important the religion of a marriage partner. Marrying someone from the same religion would, in the opinions of the majority of the participants, make life easier when it came to choosing which religion the children were to be raised in. Another question to be considered but not posed during

this study, is whether the level of integration of the parents reflects on the practice, non practice or casual practice of religion of both parents and children. All but one of the participants' parents were connected to religion in varying degrees. In all cases except that of Fathima, who was a more serious practitioner than her parents, the children and the parents practised the religion to the same degree.

Overall Conclusions

The major conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the data in this study is that with respect to this group of second generation participants, the integration of their parents has contributed to their own levels of integration, self-concept, identification with the ethnic culture, and the subsequent choices they have made with regard to their lifestyles, choice of marriage partner and retention of the culture. There is evidence that the level of integration of this generation is higher than that of their parents.

Another conclusion to be reached from the findings is that the majority of second generation females in this study had higher levels of integration than the majority of males. It is clear from the findings that the students are satisfied with their lives and, indirectly, their levels of integration. It can be assumed that they are content with their identities.

Recommendations for Further Research

I derived tremendous satisfaction from my interviews with the 13 participants of this study. These students were all full of a *joie de vivre*. They were able to see with a sense of humour the strengths and weaknesses of both the Indian and the Canadian cultures. They were proud of their ethnic heritage but also proud to be Canadians. For those who wished to be considered hyphenated Canadians it was because they felt a special connection to the Indian culture and its traditions. The research indicates that second generation children of Indian heritage are burdened with the values, traditions, expectations and cultural beliefs of their parents. However, this group of second

generation students does not view their heritage as a burden. They are willing to adopt those beliefs and values of their parents that they consider important and necessary to their own lives as second generation Canadians or Indo-Canadians and reject those which are not applicable to their lives in Canada or which they consider obsolete or anachronistic.

At the outset of this study I had posed five questions primarily relating to ethnic identity and the many factors that contribute towards shaping a second generation person's identity. One of the five questions related to public school experiences, and though not specifically in the interview guide, the topic of a multicultural education arose out of the discussion with regard to the students' experiences in school. It was then necessary to review some of the literature on multicultural education and for this reason I have directed some of the discussion under the topic Multicultural Education.

The students who participated in this study have navigated the public school system without any negative results. However, if the literature is to be used as a basis for recommended changes in the educational system and the participants' suggestions that a more inclusive cultural curriculum would be a good reflection of the multicultural make-up of Canada, it follows that educators and administrators should be trained and empowered to assist and teach students from many different cultures.

Throughout the study the students maintained that their parents were willing to allow them to participate fully in the Canadian cultural milieu. Some parents were even open to their children marrying non Indians. This particular factor was considered important to some of the students, particularly to some of the females. All of the students were comfortable with their parents practising some traditional customs. However, they were very adamant that some traditional beliefs and behaviours were obsolete and not compatible with their lives in Canada. An example of one such belief which the students wished discarded is that of having to choose a marriage partner from within the same caste. For the culture to remain viable in Canada, and for second generation and future generations to continue to have pride in its values and traditions, it is necessary for first generation parents to not compel their children to follow traditions

and customs which they no longer believe in. This should lead to a more open and trusting relationship between the two generations.

Further Research

This study was conducted with university students. Further research should include a larger sample of students, not necessarily from the same educational institution, and should be conducted separately with males and females. Doing studies on the gender groups separately gives the researcher the opportunity to design questions and focus discussions that are specific to the gender. It also offers the opportunity for a more in-depth study. These studies should focus primarily on integration. Since integration into the host culture affects every facet of a second generation person's life, it would be useful to delve deeper into the interaction between first and second generation persons to determine how this interaction affects integration. This study concluded that the level of integration of the parents influenced the level of integration of the children. There was also indication that the participants of this study came from stable middle class families with above average education levels. Further research on the parents could focus on the issues that first generation parents face when bringing up their Canadian born children. The study should also consider whether education levels and socio-economic standards of the parents change the level of integration into the host culture and further, if obtaining an education for their children, and in particular the females, is considered important to first generation parents.

Another question that arose, peripherally out of this study is that of cross-cultural comparisons between second generation persons and their peers from the host culture. Some anecdotal evidence indicates that Canadian born parents have similar expectations as Indo-Canadian parents with regard to behaviour and scholastic achievement of their children. A future study could examine whether Indo-Canadian parents and Canadian born parents have similar or different views on child raising.

Concluding Remarks

As a first generation Indo-Canadian I often heard myself being described during the discussions with the students in this study. As I was raised in India until the age of 21 it was impossible not to inculcate some of the values and beliefs that the culture prizes so greatly. However, after listening to and participating in the discussions with these students I realized that the societal norms from India such as a double standard for males and females, the caste and class system, and the influence of family and community on young people that I was raised with in the 1960s are slowly declining in that country. However, some of these norms are still faced by second generation persons in Canada. I have also come to realize that often traditions, values, and beliefs that are valued very highly in a culture are also sometimes used as a tool to keep the second and third generations from straying too far out of the ethnic cultural fold.

If the Indian culture is to flourish in some form or another in Canada and other parts of the western world, it will depend on second generation persons such as those who participated in this study. These students are intelligent enough to realize that the culture is not without flaws but are yet able to fashion it to suit their own beliefs and lifestyles. To embrace a culture wholeheartedly without questioning its traditions and beliefs is to not have confidence in one's own sense of self. The student participants all have a high sense of self and have made choices after a significant amount of consideration. Much of the literature with regard to parents in the Indian culture is based on their rigid adherence to culture and traditions. Without speaking directly to the parents of the students of this study it is impossible to give an accurate description of their beliefs and opinions. The only guide available to me is the responses from the participants with respect to their parents' beliefs and values. Some time in the future perhaps the parents of the participants would be willing to participate in a study of this nature.

When I began this study I intended to find answers to five questions relating to the perceptions of second generation Indo-Canadians in relation to Canadian culture. I explored the areas of ethnic identity and integration and focussed on the many influences

that govern the lives of second generation persons in a culture significantly different from their parents' native culture. At the conclusion of the study the answers are ambiguous in most areas, have supported the existing literature in some areas and not in others, and have given rise to further questions. Even though the results of the study cannot be generalized, they can be transferred to many situations in which second generation Indo-Canadians conduct their lives. The study brought me great satisfaction and hope for the future. Satisfaction because the participants were willing to share their time and thoughts and feelings for purposes of the study and hope because they have incorporated the best of both the Indian and the Canadian cultures into their lives. The participants in this study lead me to believe that the words of John Dewey in 1916 when he spoke about hyphenated Americans, are applicable to hyphenated Canadians at the end of this century, namely: "The point is to see to it that the hyphen connects instead of separates" (Dewey, 1916 in Glazer, 1997, p. 86). I believe that the participants of this study are very interested in connecting.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A - Cover letters

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February 23, 1999

Telephone: 458-3362

Consent to Participate in the Study on Ethnic Identity

Dear Participant:

Following our recent discussion during which you agreed to participate in the Ethnic Identity Study, I am requesting that you acknowledge your consent by signing this letter. Along with your consent to participate in the study, I would request that you agree to maintain the confidentiality of the other participants in the study. Please do this by signing on the appropriate line. I have enclosed two copies so that you can keep one for your records.

As a participant in this study you will be asked to participate in a focus group interview with 4 other females, at a time and location convenient to you and the other participants. This interview should take approximately an hour to an hour and a half. The discussions will be audio taped and the transcripts will be provided to you to check their accuracy and to confirm any points that need to be clarified. It is anticipated that these discussions will take place towards the end of February.

You may at any time withdraw your consent to participate in the study. You are also granted veto rights over the transcripts of the discussions and conversations that you are involved in. Please be assured that at no time during the study you will be under any risk or coerced into participation during the discussions.

Following the study you will be provided with a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations. In these, as well as in the official thesis, you will see that your name has been altered to protect your confidentiality. The name that you provided me in private at the start of the study will be the one used in the report. That name is known only to you and me. You will be provided with another pseudonym for purposes of the interview. That pseudonym will not appear in the report.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. I appreciate your generosity in sharing your time and insights. I hope that you find the process to be enjoyable and rewarding. If you would like more information, you can contact me at 458-3362, e-mail:aspink@gpu.srv.ualberta.ca or my supervisor at: Dr. Tracey Derwing, Dept. Of

Educational Psychology, Telephone:492-3668, e-mail:tracey.derwing@ualberta.ca

Valerie Spink

I, _____consent to participate in the study described above.

I,_____consent to maintain the confidentiality of the participants involved in the study.

Signed:_____ Date:_____

Valerie Spink
Department of Educational Policy Studies
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2G5

February 23, 1999

Telephone: 458-3362

Consent to Participate in the Study on Ethnic Identity

Dear Participant:

Following our recent discussion during which you agreed to participate in the Ethnic Identity Study, I am requesting that you acknowledge your consent by signing this letter. Along with your consent to participate in the study, I would request that you agree to maintain the confidentiality of the other participants in the study. Please do this by signing on the appropriate line. I have enclosed two copies so that you can keep one for your records.

As a participant in this study you will be asked to participate in a focus group interview with 4 other males, at a time and location convenient to you and the other participants. This interview should take approximately an hour to an hour and a half. The discussions will be audio taped and the transcripts will be provided to you to check their accuracy and to confirm any points that need to be clarified. It is anticipated that these discussions will take place towards the end of February.

You may at any time withdraw your consent to participate in the study. You are also granted veto rights over the transcripts of the discussions and conversations that you are involved in. Please be assured that at no time during the study you will be under any risk or coerced into participation during the discussions.

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As a participant in this study you will be asked to participate in a one-on-one interview, at a time and location convenient to you. This interview should take approximately an hour to an hour and a half. The discussions will be audio taped and the transcripts will be provided to you to check their accuracy and to confirm any points that need to be clarified. It is anticipated that these discussions will take place towards the end of February.

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Signed:_____ Date:_____

APPENDIX B - Interview Guides

Background Information

Please fill in the blanks with the required information:

Name:_____

Name given for purposes of this interview:_____

Age:_____

Gender:_____

Religion:_____

Your parent's religion:_____

Year your parents came to Canada: Mother_____Father:_____

Region in India your parents came from: Mother_____Father_____

Language(s) spoken at home: by you_____ by your: Mother:_____

Father:_____

Education level of your parents: Mother_____ Father_____

Current occupation of your parents: Mother_____
Father_____

Have you ever, or do you now have a job?_____If so, what type of job:

_____.

General Ethnic Identity Questionnaire

Personal

1. As second generation Indo-Canadians if someone were to ask you your nationality what would you say?

Probes: Have you always felt this way?
Tell me the circumstances that caused you to begin feeling this way.
How do members of your family such as your parents and siblings and close relatives describe themselves?
Do you think that when people see you for the first time they categorize you as first an Indian and then a Canadian?
Once they get to know you better do you think that your ethnic heritage still matters to them?

2. Are you interested in the history and culture of India?

Probes: If you are interested - tell me why?
What have you done to learn more about it?
Is it important to you to learn more about Indian culture and history?
Does your family talk about it and encourage you to learn more about it?

3. As I walk about the campus I notice pockets of South Asian students. These students could be from India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan or Bangladesh. Fiji, Trinidad, East Africa.

Probes: Have you given any thought as to why these students prefer to be friends with students from the same ethnic background? Or at least from a similar ethnic background?
How about yourselves? Tell me about your choice of friends. How do you choose your friends? Do you have friends who are from other ethnic backgrounds? Do you have any friends who are "white" Canadians?
If you have "white" friends do you ever discuss subjects related to ethnicity - such as - your opinions on Indian culture, your opinions on Canadian culture, your family's opinions on Canadian culture, marriage expectations, food, inter-ethnic marriage - that sort of thing?
Do your parents have any say over your choice of friends? Do they encourage you to have friends particularly from your ethnic background?

4. In that all cultures have strengths and weaknesses, what are some of the strengths and weaknesses of the Indian culture? Of Canadian culture?

Probes: Do these strengths make it easier for you to live in a culture where the majority of people are not from your ethnic background?
What about the weaknesses? (If any) Do they hinder you, when you wish to do things that may be considered in a negative light by people from the Indian culture?
What do you wish was different when you consider the overall culture?
What are some of the strengths of Canadian culture? Can you name any weaknesses?
With regard to Canadian culture, are there some aspects of Canadian culture that you would like to incorporate into Indian culture? And vice versa?

5. How about day to day activities?

Probes: What type of foods do you eat at home? (If only Indian) Do you ever eat non Indian foods like pasta and hamburgers or roast beef at home? How about your family? Will they be willing to go out and eat a Steak, or Chinese or Thai food?
Do you like to watch Indian (Hindi or Punjabi) movies? And videos? How often do you do that? Your family? What about Indian music? What is your preference Indian music or western music? Many second generation Indo-Canadian are into Bhangra music. I have seen something about it on television. Are there any clubs or places in Edmonton where this music is played? What is different about this music compared with other classical Indian music? Why is it so popular with young Indo-Canadians?

6. Do you actively follow a particular religion?

Probes: Do you and your family attend a temple, gurdwara, mosque or church regularly?
Do you celebrate religious festivals? Do you celebrate Christmas - because you live in Canada? Put up a Christmas tree, exchange gifts, etc.?
Is belonging to a religious organization important to you? What would be the consequences if you chose not to participate in your family's religious activities?
Has belonging to a religion that is different from the general population ever been a problem to you through your school years?

7. There is a reasonably large Indian community in this city. Do you live in a part of town that has a large number of Indians or people of Indian background?

Probes: If so, was this a conscious decision on the part of your parents? If not, was this a conscious decision on the part of your parents?
If you do live in a part of town that has a large population of people of Indian heritage - are most of your neighbours people of Indian heritage? Or from other cultures?Are you friends with the ones who are not of Indian heritage? Is your family friends with neighbours who are not Indian? When I say friends - I mean do you socialize - call them over for dinner that sort of thing.

Educational Experiences

8. Through your elementary, junior and senior high school years did you ever feel that you were treated differently because of your heritage? Both positive and negative.

Probes Tell me about some experiences in school that may have caused you to feel you were singled out because of your heritage.
Did you have friends in school that were not Indo-Canadian? If so, were these friends welcome in your family home? Some high schools have students that align themselves into "Gangs" or "groups" based on their ethnic origin. What do you think about this? Were you ever a part of a group of this type? Do you feel it is necessary to form or join groups with "labels" to ensure your ethnic identity?
Did you ever have an opportunity at school to talk about your heritage? Such as during Social Studies, or on days when students bring food to class for a celebration? (If no)Would you have liked to do that?
(If there are turbaned sikhs or muslim female students who cover their heads as participants) Did you ever have to explain why you wear a turban? Or a scarf over your head? Were you ever the butt of any ethnic jokes because of your head dress?

9. Religious experiences. If you went to a separate school (Catholic) or even a public school (secular) you were probably in a religious minority.

Probes: Was it difficult to belong to a religious minority in the school system? If you attended a Catholic school did you participate in the school's religious activities, religion class, Christmas celebrations and the mass at the beginning of the school year? How did that make you feel? Were you ever encouraged to talk about your religion in religion class (if you went to Catholic school).
Tell me some ways in which the school could have included your religious beliefs during religion classes or religious celebrations or even in the public school system.

10. With regard to your experiences on campus:

Probes: Adjusting to university takes sometimes the full first term and sometimes the full first year for students. As a student from an ethnic minority, was it more difficult for you to adjust to life on campus ? Do you look for other Indo-Canadian students in your classes to be friends with? Does it concern you if there aren't some Indo-Canadian students in your classes?
Do you participate in any campus activities? Clubs, sports, social activities etc.
What is your perception of the interracial climate on campus?
Do you interact and socialize with students from other ethnic backgrounds on campus? Are you comfortable with this interaction? If not, can you tell me why?
Is there a particular ethnic group that you prefer to interact with over others?
Are there some Indo-Canadian students that you do not interact and socialize with? (If not)Why not?
Is it your perception that some students feel uncomfortable when they seegroups of students gathered together along ethnic lines?
Is it good/bad/neutral to hang out with people from the same ethnic background?

11. Ethnic organizations on campus:

Probes: Is there support on campus for ethnic group activities? (If no) Should there be?
If yes - please explain.
Do you think the campus should encourage ethnic organizations? (If yes)Why?
(If no) - Why?
I know there is a Muslim student's association. Do some of you belong to this organization? Do you participate in its activities? I know sometimes during the school year various associations will set up tables and talk about their associations. If the Muslim students do this - What type of reception do you receive from other students? Are they willing to learn about Islam? What type of questions do they ask?

Particular Questions for male focus group

Pressures:

Probes: As a male do you experience any pressures or expectations from your family with regard to your education and future prospects of jobs and income? Do your parents compare your scholastic achievements with the achievements of other students your age from the community?

Are the same pressures applied to your sisters, if you have any? If not, why do you think this is the case?

Socializing:

Probes: What about socializing? Are you allowed to socialize with males and females from any ethnic background? Do you take girls who are "white" or from other ethnic backgrounds out on dates? Why not? Does your family have any influence on who you date?

Marriage:

Probes: What about marriage? I know most of you are too young to contemplate marriage right now, but tell me what your family's expectations are for you in this regard? Will they want you to marry an Indo-Canadian girl? Will you be allowed to choose your own wife or will the family expect you to marry someone they have "arranged" or chosen for you? If this is the case, are you willing to go along with this choice? If you do not go along with your family's wishes what do you think will be the consequences? Do you see yourselves ever marrying out of the Indo-Canadian community? Perhaps to a "white" woman? Or an Afro-Canadian/Asian (Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese) woman?

Male Roles:

Probes: I too come from an Indian background so I am familiar with the tradition where males are considered to be the primary authority figures in a household. Do you think male superiority is a tradition that should be upheld? What are some of your beliefs on the roles of males and females? Right now, do you do chores at home, does your sister? When you get married will it be all right for your wife to work outside the

home? After you have children? Do you see yourself helping with the housework, children that sort of thing?

Are there any other issues that you can think of that relate to your identity as an Indo-Canadian that you would like to discuss?

Interview will end with words of thanks.

Particular Questions for Female Focus Group

Female Roles:

Probes: Traditionally in India, females are expected to behave in ways different from their male counterparts. In Canada, society stresses equality of the sexes. In your family situations are you expected to behave like a traditional Indian female? That is, complete obedience to your parents, more restrictions on your lifestyle, more interest in household activities and that sort of thing? (If so) Would you like to be treated differently? Does it create a hardship for you if the restrictions placed on you are different from those placed on your brother? Do you ever rebel against these restrictions? If so, what sorts of things do you do?

Socializing:

Probes: How about friends? Is it important to you to date only boys who are Indo-Canadian? What about your family? Would they object if you had a "white" or other ethnic background boyfriend?

Education:

Probes: What about education? All of you are in university now. Do your parents place any pressures on you to do well in school? Is it important to your family that you do well in school - is there any competition between friends and family about how well each other's children perform in school? Do your parents ever say "so and so got all 9s". Is there an expectation that you will marry soon after your degree? Will you be allowed to pursue further education such as post-graduate work before marriage? After marriage? How do you feel about some of these expectations?

Marriage:

Probes: Now that you live in Canada what is your expectation and your family's expectation about your marriage? Is there a certain age when you will be expected to marry? How about choice of partner? Will you be allowed to choose your own husband or will a marriage be "arranged" for you? Are you willing to go along with such an arrangement? How much say will you have, if you do agree to an arranged marriage? Would you ever consider marrying someone from another ethnic background? Say someone who is "white" or Afro-Canadian or Asian (Chinese,

Vietnamese, Korean). If you did, what would be the reaction of your family? Are there any people in your extended or immediate family who have married out of the ethnic community? If they have, how do family and community members treat them? Do you think you will continue to work after marriage? After having children?

Are there any other issues that you would like to discuss that relate to your ethnic identity?

Interview will end with my words of thanks.

Interview Guide - one-on-one interview - female/male

Ethnicity:

Probes: When describing your nationality do you feel it is important for people to know that you are an Indo-Canadian? Are you ever in a position where you have to clarify your nationality?

Multicultural education:

Probes: Have you ever taken courses at the University related to Indian culture? Was the instructor Indian? If not do you think he or she should be Indian to teach a course on Indian culture or religion?

Do you think it is important for the university to offer courses related to specific cultures and religions? Why do you think this is necessary?

Do you think that the school should offer multicultural courses in order that other students will learn about the various cultures in the school. Will that foster understanding or will it point out diversity?

Religion:

Probes: What part does your religion play in your daily life? Does your family practice your religion actively? I know that Muslims should pray several times a day and that the religious services are on a Friday. Is it possible for you to pray when you are in school? Was it possible for you to find time and a place to pray when you were in high school? Do you go to the Mosque and does your heavy schedule sometimes come in the way of your religious duties?

Now that you are an adult is it difficult for you to live in Canada, where you are in a religious minority, as opposed to living in a country like India or Pakistan or Saudi Arabia and be an active practitioner of your religion?

I see that you wear the Hijab. Has it ever been difficult for you as a Muslim student in school or university to make this outward demonstration of your Religion? Have you ever experienced

discrimination because of your outward expression of religion? In some cities in Canada the practice of wearing a hijab is being stopped in some public schools. Do you have an opinion about this? Some school officials believe there should be a clear separation between religion and schooling? What do you think?

You are a medical student. Does your religion or the fact that you are Indo-Canadian ever put you in situations that other students would not be put in?

As a student from a minority culture in a multicultural country do you think it is necessary for schools to inform, and when I say inform I mean offer courses on other cultures and religions. Do you think that some instructors and teachers should represent the various cultures that are represented in the schools.

Socializing:

Probes: Do you have friends from all cultures? Are you comfortable with friends from other religions.

What about your family? Do they have any influence on your friendships?

Marriage:

Probes: Who do you think you will marry? Will it be a person from the Indo-Canadian culture who is a Muslim/Christian/Hindu or are you open to choosing someone from another religion and/or culture?

Is an arranged marriage an option for you? Will you be given a choice when it comes to choosing a husband?

What are your preferences? Do you prefer to marry someone who was born in Canada but who is Indo-Canadian? Or will a man/woman directly from India be all right?

Is it important that he/she has post secondary education? Should he/she be fluent in English?

Do you plan to work after you are married? Will you discuss this option

before you marry? Is it important to you that your spouse share in the housework, raising and caring for children and other chores.

Will it be acceptable to you if your wife wishes to work after marriage? Do you see yourself sharing in the housework, raising the children, participating in their school activities etc? Do you ever see yourself being a househusband. Staying at home and looking after the children and household and letting your wife work assuming she has a higher paying job than you.

The research is indicating that women in Indian families have a lower standing on the hierarchical scale. Do you believe this is the case? Are the women in your family treated in the same way as the men? Do they get the same educational opportunities, freedom to socialize and freedom to choose whom they wish to marry?

In India the caste system dictates how people choose their mates. Will this affect your choice of mate in Canada? Does your family believe in the caste system? If they do, do you also believe that it is important to marry within the same caste?

Indian traditions:

Probes: Is it important to continue with Indian traditions and aspects of the Indian culture? What do you and your family do to maintain your Indianness?

Do you think it Is important or even necessary to acquire some aspects of Canadian culture. If so, what are some of the components of Canadian culture that you have acquired?

Do you think it would be difficult to live in Canada and not be partly integrated into the Canadian culture. Do you know any people who separate themselves completely from anything Canadian? Can you describe what their lives are like?

Can you project several years into the future - 2 to 3 generations from now? Do you think that you and your children will continue to carry on Indian traditions.